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ISLAM IN THE WORLD

ZAKI ALI

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BY

ZAKI ALI

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SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

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RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
TO
HIS HIGHNESS ABBAS HILMI II
Khedive of Egypt from 1892 to 1914
IN
Grateful Acknowledgment of Financial Assistance
TO THE AUTHOR
FOR A PERIOD OF EIGHT MONTHS
While He Was Writing This Book
UNDER VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES

PREFACE

I LEFT Egypt in 1931 and came over to Europe, for the first time, on a medical mission, after holding a post as house-surgeon and anæsthetist at Kasr El Aini Hospital in Cairo and conducting a private practice for a few years. I did not foresee then that I should be swept into a deep interest in questions other than medical.

But in Europe I discovered a deplorable ignorance and misunderstanding of Islam, the religion which I profess, and found that the relations between the West and the Islamic world presented a chronic pathological case very worthy of study and elucidation of its causes with a view to treatment. I set to work on this self-imposed and difficult task, and the result of my study and observations are set down in the following chapters.

In producing this work I have had two main objects in view: the first being to place before the readers, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, a concise and comprehensive presentation of Islam; and the second, to depict the salient aspects of the swift and profound transformation of the self-conscious Islamic countries and its bearing upon world affairs.

My first aim would seek to dissipate the dangerous misunderstanding which exists in the West as regards Islam and the Muslims. My second aim is to show, that the revival and progress of the Islamic

peoples of today does not constitute in the least a menace to the West. On the contrary, if the West will cooperate with Islam in the East there will be hope for a stability in the situation of the world and a coming of a righteous and real peace.

This book, therefore, is for enlightenment and reconciliation. In an age of false and mischief-making propaganda, international jealousy, fear and suspicion, and where old orders on all sides are tottering, a true and unprejudiced knowledge of the problems of Islam, which numbers today almost one-fifth of the human race as its followers, should help to appease international strife. For Islam fills a very important rôle in the world, and occupies its unique place not in the East alone but as between East and West. The time is also opportune to set forth the outstanding features of the tremendous revival and change just now stirring the whole Muslim world, from the shores of the Pacific to those of the Atlantic and from Central Asia to the heart of Africa, and to examine the influence of this movement upon world politics, and also to explain its rôle in the new order of society. Any European or Western policy which disregards the strong and stabilising influence and the driving spiritual force of Islam can only perpetuate the turbulence and insecurity of the world which are now the source of its troubles.

The Western peoples should have a fuller and more sympathetic understanding of the peoples of Islam and an absolute respect for their religion.

The publication of this book may be regarded as an additional contribution to the general efforts of people of good-will in the East and the West to promote a spirit of mutual understanding, justice and cooperation among the nations of the world.

I am aware of the shortcomings of this book, which treats a vast subject that would need the combined efforts of several competent specialists to do it justice.

However, the general aim of the book justifies its publication in this form.

It is a pleasant duty gratefully to acknowledge my indebtedness and profound thanks to my publisher, Mr. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, India, upon whose invitation this work has been undertaken.

Case Eaux-Vives, 67
Geneva, Switzerland.
July, 1937.

ZAKI ALI.

PART I

CHAPTER I

MUHAMMAD: THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

ISLAM is the only world-religion born in the broad daylight of history. Based throughout on well-authenticated facts, the life-history of Muhammad, its founder, has been preserved intact even to its minutest details.

In order to understand the religion of Islam an account of the life of its Prophet is essential.

The fifth and sixth centuries of Christian era were centuries of decadence of the ancient cultures and civilisations of the East and West, but in the following century the course of history was violently changed by an unexpected people. Nomad Arabs rode out of the desert, and demanded the surrender of Byzantium and Persia. The Iranian monarch was amazed. "Who are you to attack an empire?" he asked. "You, of all peoples the poorest, most dis-united, most ignorant." The messenger of the Arabs was unabashed: "All that you say was once true. The Arabs were clothed in the hair garments of beasts; their food was green lizards; they buried their infant daughters alive, they feasted on dead carcasses and drank warm blood; they slew their relatives and boasted of the property they stole; we knew not

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

good from evil, nor could we tell what was lawful and what was unlawful. All this is true no longer. God in His mercy has sent us a holy Prophet who has given us a sacred Book which teaches us the only true faith."

The man who accomplished this change—the swiftest and most far-reaching in the whole history of the world—and within one generation gave the world a new religion, a new social order and laid the foundations of a new civilisation, was Muhammad.

Muhammad was born on the 20th of April, 571 A.D. at Mecca, the son of Abdullah, of the family of Hashim, and of Amina, of the family of Zuhra, both of the honourable and powerful tribe of Quraish. His father died shortly after, leaving no other inheritance than five camels, a few sheep and a female slave. His mother died when he was six years old, and thus orphaned he came under the guardianship of his grandfather, Abdul Muttalib who also died two years later. Muhammad was then left to the care of his uncle Abu Talib, who remained his kind friend and protector as long as he lived.

During his youth he accompanied his uncle with merchandise caravans to Syria. He could neither read nor write, but he developed wonderful mental faculties, and his surname *Al-Amin* indicates the high esteem in which he was held for his integrity and good judgment. When twenty-five years old

MUHAMMAD: THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

he was employed by a rich widow, Khadija, also of the tribe of Quraish, to accompany her trading caravans to the fairs in Syria. Muhammad conducted Khadija's business with great success and shortly after his return she married him. She was fifteen years his senior and bore him two sons and four daughters; both his sons died young.

Thoughtful beyond his years, much given to meditation, and endowed with a keen mind and delicate tastes Muhammad kept himself singularly pure in a society where purity meant nothing. For it was an Arab community in which the most abominable practices prevailed: idolatry, corruption, murder, theft, adultery, unlimited polygamy, cruelty to women, oppression of the poor, usury, drunkenness, lying, superstition, infanticide, blood-feud; in fact chaos and anarchy. Such was the condition of affairs in Pre-Islamic Arabia as the years of the Arabian dark ages (*Jahiliyyah*)¹ were approaching their end. Muhammad looked with horror upon this state of the community and often sought the solitude of the cave of Hira, near Mecca for deep contemplation. He believed that only a surrender

1. Commonly known as the "times of ignorance", but the erudite Egyptian scholar Ahmad Amin, in his *Fajr-ul-Islam* (Dawn of Islam), Cairo, 1933 (Arabic), p. 84, does not maintain the literary meaning of the word, it rather denotes arrogance, ostentation and contention which were prevalent among the Arabs before Islam, in contradistinction to modesty, pious resignation conducive to peace, and the advantage of good deeds over the nobility of pedigree, these being distinctive features in the ethics of Islam.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

of self to the one and only one God (Allah), by abandoning idolatry, by encouraging one another to patience and well-doing, and by acting justly and mercifully, would it be possible to lead a righteous life.

Meanwhile he was widely respected for his probity, practical wisdom and modesty. His personality was beautiful and majestic, his expression pensive and thoughtful, his appearance full of dignity, and his face full of intelligence.

In his fortieth year Muhammad received the first revelation. When once in the cave of Hira, as was his custom, after fasting, prayer and meditation, he heard a mysterious voice saying : "Thou art the Prophet of God." A few days later, as he was passing the night in the cave of Mount Hira, the angel Gabriel appeared to him. "Read!" said the angel. "I know not how to read!" replied Muhammad. "Read!" repeated the angel; and immediately he was illumined with divine light and understanding, and the first revelation occurred to him :

"Read in the name of thy Lord...."

Frightened but self-possessed, Muhammad walked back home and told the particulars of that interview to his faithful wife. The revelations then ceased for forty days, after which time they began again. Muhammad was commanded to deliver the divine message of the Unity of God and undertake the reformation of the world. He began by preaching

MUHAMMAD: THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

the new Faith to his nearest relatives and friends. His wife Khadija was the first person to embrace Islam; the other early converts were his cousin Ali, his intimate friend Abu Bakr, and his servant Zaid. "What is very striking in the religious career of Muhammad," remarks the eminent Orientalist, Edouard Montet, "at the beginning of his activity, is that the first converts he made were among the members of his own family and relatives. I believe that he is the only founder of religion who had the privilege of gaining to his cause those nearest to him either through blood or through close connection."

✓ For three years the Prophet preached the new Faith secretly, winning some adherents in his family, among his private friends and among the humbler classes in Mecca. Meetings were held in a secluded house where Muhammad instructed all the early Muslims in the doctrines of Islam. Even here they were discovered and attacked by a rabble. The Prophet had much to contend with in these early days; many members of his tribe were against him and Abu Lahab, his uncle, a rich and influential man, openly opposed what he called Muhammad's heresy.

In answer to one of the revelations Muhammad now began to preach Islam publicly; he boldly and fearlessly announced his divine command to impart the revelations received from God. The new religion had to come out into the open as the declared foe of polytheism. Opposition by the Quraish and

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

other people of Mecca began with scorn, the Prophet being called a soothsayer, a magician, even a lunatic. Gradually, however, as the number of adherents increased, they rose against the Prophet and became fiercely hostile, persecuting him and his adherents and resorting to violence. On the Prophet's counsel, some of his followers took refuge in Abyssinia, but came back three months later. Again in the seventh year of the Prophet's mission a considerable number of Muslims emigrated to Abyssinia, where they were well received by the Negus. The unbelieving Meccans sent a deputation to the Negus demanding extradition of the exiles. To frustrate their efforts Muhammad sent his cousin Ja'afar armed with an exposition of the Islamic doctrines; the Abyssinian king and his ecclesiastical advisers, on hearing the Quran, took the side of the Muslims. The Meccan leaders were roused to fury by this victory, and blockaded the Prophet and his followers in the quarter which they occupied.

In the tenth year of his prophetic mission, Muhammad was deprived (by the death) of his faithful wife, and, about two months later, of his uncle Abu Talib his protector. His firmness was not, however, shaken, nor his faith in his mission, which he held fast to the end. After a preaching journey to Taif he returned to Mecca. While he unwearyingly preached to the tribes at the fairs, he came in touch with some Medinese Arabs,

MUHAMMAD : THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

whose contact with the Jews at Medina (Yathrib) rendered them more susceptible to religious ideas; they became ardent believers, and on their return to Medina they propagated the teachings of Islam, which took root and bore fruit, so that the next pilgrimage from Medina brought twelve, and the third more than seventy new followers of Islam, and with these the Prophet entered into a close alliance.

Meanwhile, oppression at Mecca became intolerable. A conspiracy to murder the Prophet was set on foot by the Meccan leaders. When the criminals reached Muhammad's house, they found that it was too late; Muhammad had already departed. This emigration known as *Hijra* took place on June 16, 622 A.D. It forms the starting point of the Muslim era. Accompanied by his most loyal friend Abu Bakr, Muhammad took refuge in a cave of Mount Thaur. He reached Qubâ, on the outskirts of Medina on September 20, 622 A.D. At Medina, the Prophet was received with honour and accepted by the people as their leader. Muhammad's entry in Medina marked the beginning of a continuous external development of Islam which as a religion as well as a political entity achieved increasing success. The Prophet organised the new community of Muslims at Medina (the 'Ansar' or 'Helpers' being the Medinese followers, and the 'Muhajirin' or 'Refugees from Mecca') in one unit in which religion replaced the old Arabic

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

tribal idea as a unifying bond. The Jews of Medina were conciliated by means of a convention. The Prophet realised afterwards that the Jews were profoundly hostile, for they broke the agreement and entered into alliance with his enemies, the Quraish, at Mecca. Thus he had to adopt radical measures against them later on. The Meccan unbelievers continued to persecute and provoke the Muslims, and hostilities between Mecca and Medina became inevitable. In the second year of the Hijra the battle of Badr (Ramadan, 2 A.H.=March 624 A.D.) was the first encounter of really great moment. Muhammad with some 300 Muslims won a signal victory over the Meccans, numbering about 1000 men, who were utterly defeated. This battle is one of the outstanding events in Muslim history.¹ On that day the position, prestige and ultimate triumph of Islam over Mecca were assured. True, in the following year (3 A.H.) the Muslims suffered a defeat at Uhud, and even the Prophet was wounded, but nothing could eclipse the triumph of Badr, and the siege of Medina by Quraish and their allied tribes in the year 5 A.H. (War of the Trench) proved abortive.

In the following year Muhammad set out at the head of 1400 Muslims to make the pilgrimage to the Kaaba in the Harem (the Holy Sanctuary)

1. This battle was commemorated last year in Egypt, under the auspices of an association founded especially for this purpose.

MUHAMMAD: THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

in Mecca. Although the Meccans did not allow this to be carried out, the Prophet gained a still greater advantage in that they concluded a term of peace with him for ten years, known as the Pact of Hudaibiyya (6 A.H.=628 A.D.). This pact showed the extraordinary diplomatic ability of Muhammad. Even to the dissatisfaction of some of his companions and followers who did not then realise the advantages gained, he consented 'not to add his title 'Apostle of God' to his signature of the document, when it stood in the way of the ratification by the Meccans of this Pact. But, on the other hand, he knew how to wrest from his negotiators what he had set his heart upon. In it he treated with Mecca on equal terms and in the capacity of head of a State. Islam gained thereby in prestige for, in accordance with the terms, unarmed Muslims from Medina were allowed to perform pilgrimage in the following year; and, further, Quraishite fugitives in Medina, even if Muslims, were to be returned, but Medinese fugitives in Mecca were not, with the result that freer intercourse between the Muslims and unbelievers took place; Islam won over new adherents among the Quraishites, the most remarkable of these were Khalid ibn Al-Walid and Amr ibn Al-As, the future celebrated generals of Islam. Not only that, but the pilgrimage generally impressed the population of Mecca with

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the idea that Islam was winning.

In the eighth year of the Hijra, Muhammad marched with a large army to conquer Mecca which surrendered without resistance. The inveterate opponent, Abu Sufyan, head of the Quraish, became a Muslim and the whole population did the same. The idols of the Kaaba were all destroyed, the call to prayer and '*Allah Akbar*' were sounded from all around the Kaaba. The Prophet showed great forbearance toward his enemies by proclaiming a general amnesty.¹ The conquest of Mecca decided his eventual supremacy over the whole of Arabia. The Prophet sent missives to all known sovereigns and potentates (Heraclius, Chosroes II.,

1. In narrating the events of the conquest of Mecca, Arthur Gilman writes. "It is greatly to his (Muhammad) praise that on this occasion, when his resentment for ill-usage in the past might naturally have incited him to revenge, he restrained his army from all shedding of blood, and showed every sign of humility and thanksgiving to Allah for his goodness. Ten or twelve men who had on a former occasion shown a barbarous spirit, were proscribed, and of them four were put to death, but this must be considered exceedingly humane in comparison with the acts of other conquerors, in comparison, for example, with the cruelty of the Crusaders, who, in 1099, put seventy thousand Muslims, men, women, and helpless children, to death when Jerusalem fell into their hands, or with that of the English army, also fighting under the cross, which in the year of grace 1874 burned an African capital, in its war on the Gold Coast. Muhammad's victory was in very truth one of religion and not of politics, he rejected every token of personal homage, and declined all regal authority; and when the haughty chiefs of the Quraishites appeared before him he asked—

"What can you expect at my hands?"

"Mercy, O generous brother."

"Be it so, you are free!" he exclaimed

—*The Saracens* (London, 1887), pp. 184-185.

MUHAMMAD: THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

Negus of Abyssinia, Al-Mukaukas of Egypt (head of the Copts), the chiefs of several Arabian provinces, etc.), calling them to embrace the Faith of Islam. On the other hand, embassies poured in from different parts of the Peninsula bringing the submission of the various tribes to the Prophet; and now Islam and its dominion extended farther and farther every day.

In the tenth year of the Hijra, Muhammad determined to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, with all its holy rites. Many thousands of Muslims congregated from all parts of Arabia to accompany the Prophet in his last pilgrimage, known as the "Valedictory Pilgrimage". He preached to the large throng of Muslims, estimated at about 140,000 exhorting the faithful to piety and righteousness, to abstain from sin, to protect the weak, the poor, and the women, and he taught them the last lessons in the principles of Islam. Muhammad's mission was now complete.

Soon after his return to Medina he was taken ill with fever, and died on the 12th day of the third month of the year 11 of the Hijra (8th June, 632 A.D.). He was buried in the house of Ayesha, his wife, where he died.¹

1. For recent biographies of the Prophet see Mohammad Hussain Haikal, *Hayat Muhammad* (The Life of Muhammad), Cairo, 1935 (Arabic); Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, *Mohammad. the Prophet*, London 1932; Mohammed A. Gad Al-Mawla, *Muhammad Al-Mathal Al-Kamil* (Muhammad: the Perfect Model), Cairo, 1931 (Arabic); Tawfik

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

The great man is he without whom the world would appear incomplete. Muhammad was such a man, because certain necessary great achievements of his time and of many centuries after him, were made possible only through him and would be unthinkable without him.

In the seventh century humanity deviated and erred from its correct direction, and it was Muhammad who undertook to bring it back to the right road. The real criterion of a new truth lies in its usefulness and its power for higher cultural advancement to mankind, and this is true of Muhammad's universal mission.

"He appeared," says Daumer, "not as a son of Allah, but only as His Prophet; he declared loudly that he was a man like his fellow-men, and only had a mission from God. Animated by his idea, he acted, uniting in himself great, noble qualities: Illumined by the divine light, endowed with an inflexible will-power and an ardent spirit, tempered by compassion, charity and tenderness; he undertook the difficult mission and the stupendous

Al-Hakeem, *Muhammad*, Cairo, 1935 (Arabic); Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, *The Ideal Prophet*, Woking, 1925; Emile Dermenghem, *La Vie de Mahomet*, Paris, 1932; E. Dinet, *La Vie de Mohammed, Prophète d'Allah*, popular edition, Paris, 1937; also consult Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam, with a life of the Prophet*, rev. edit., London, 1922; special articles by Sh. Youssef El-Digwy, *The Prophet Muhammad*, in *Nour El-Islam Review* (Arab. Al-Azhar Review) Cairo, vol. 2, Nos. 6-10, and vol. 3, Nos. 1-4 (English); and Moustafa Naguib, *Humât-ul-Islam* (Defenders of Islam), vol. I., Cairo, 1923 (Arabic). For further reference see Bibliography.

MUHAMMAD : THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

struggle connected with it, and he did not rest until he had attained what he wanted : until Arabia professed his Faith.

“ His behaviour was now also the standard for his people after his death : inexorable against his enemies so long as they opposed him, yet he did not know revengefulness, he was gentle towards the vanquished, indulgent and tolerant to all unbelievers ; and even when, in spreading his doctrine, he was compelled by the circumstances to use the sword, the conquered were by no means forced to accept his faith ; later also in the Muslim States the unbelievers had only a small tax imposed upon them.”¹

Another Western writer speaks of the Prophet thus : “ Even to-day, with all the details of his early life and subsequent career laid bare by men of our own race, who have studied the whole extraordinary story of the noble Arabian, it is no easy matter to comprehend the character, or to account for the marvellous success of Mohammed in the early part of the seventh century. Never claiming divine powers at any period of his mission, this very human prophet of God made his first converts in his own family, was able, after almost hopeless failure, to obtain control in his own aristocratic *gens* (people) and had such remarkable personal influence over all with whom he was brought into contact that,

1. *Mahomed und sein Werk*, p. 267.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

neither when a poverty-stricken and hunted fugitive, nor at the height of his prosperity, did he ever have to complain of treachery from those who had once embraced his Faith. His confidence in himself, and in his inspiration from on high, was even greater when he was suffering under disappointment and defeat than when he was able to dictate his own terms to his conquered enemies. Muhammad died as he had lived, surrounded by his early followers, friends and votaries: his death as devoid of mystery as his life of disguise.”¹

Even the unfriendly critic, the Rev. R. Macgregor writes: “The spectacular success of Mohammed in unifying the tribes of Arabia under the worship of the one God, Allah, and in perpetuating his own name as Allah’s prophet, can hardly fail to excite both wonder and admiration. The dire poverty which he endured so courageously in Medina is well known. His dwelling was a hut with the minimum of furniture....This was a man who could inspire his followers with zeal, and with love for himself. He was calm in danger, and in the cave of Thaur assured Abu Bakr that God was with them. He showed a Spartan endurance of utter poverty, which he shared with his converts in Medina. By abolishing alcohol and prostitution he made an undoubted reformation in the life of Arabia.”²

1. H. M. Hyndman. *The Awakening of Asia*, p. 9.

2. *The Yorkshire Post*, June 8, 1935.

MUHAMMAD : THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

The distinguished scholar Joseph Schacht states :
“ The sincerity of Muhammad’s prophetic convictions is beyond dispute. Religious genius was the most forcefully developed aspect of his personality, and with it was combined an extraordinary political capacity. His enthusiastic perseverance in Mecca as well as his calculated course of action in Medina was a manifestation of his struggle for an idea which so possessed him that he shunned no means of realizing it. His extraordinary personal influence, which undoubtedly contributed to his success, has left an indelible impress upon Islam.”¹

Professor Nathaniel Schmidt recapitulates his view of the Prophet in these words : “ The essential sincerity of Muhammad’s nature cannot be questioned ; and an historical criticism that blinks no fact, yields nothing to credulity, weighs every testimony, has no partisan interest, and seeks only the truth, must acknowledge his claim to belong to that order of prophets who, whatever the nature of their psychical experience may have been, in diverse times and diverse manners, have admonished, taught, uttered austere and sublime thoughts, laid down principles of conduct nobler than those they found, and devoted themselves fearlessly to their high calling, being irresistibly impelled to their ministry by a power within.”²

1. *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, vol. X, 1933.

2. *The New International Encyclopædia*, 1916, vol. XVI, p. 72.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

self-discipline, modesty, mercy, charity, contentment, trust in good work rather than in the gifts of fortune, effectiveness in common action, straight thinking, hospitality and abstinence from intoxicating drinks; emancipation of woman and natural respect for marriage; rejection of monasticism; a spirit of impartial justice, goodwill, large-minded tolerance and mutual enlightenment; a social system based on the vital principles of development and growth—these are the distinctive features of Islam as a social order.

A Book which is the standing miracle of Muhammad, which is inimitable, insuperable, "an incomparable Book which yields to no abrogation or distortion, and unto which no falsehood could find a way from whatever side, be it of the past or future events mentioned therein, a missive from the Wise Lord to whom praise is due for the bounties He bestowed upon mankind"¹; a Book which contained the principles of the general code of Islam: a religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, moral, penal, criminal and political code; a Book which exercises a persistent and immeasurable influence on the minds of the Faithful and to which, if they steadily adhered, they would never be led astray; a Book which contains nothing contrary to reason and which encourages genuine striving after progress; a Book which is Allah's uncreated Word

1. *Al-Baidawy's Commentary.*

ISLAM: A RELIGION AND A SOCIAL ORDER

in the sense that in its actual form, in its Arabic language it is identical and co-eternal with its celestial origin—this is the Holy Quran, the Sacred Book of Islam.

✓Islam established truth as the basic element of the whole existence and made the conception of unity the essence of its religious system.✓“It stipulated freedom of thought, urged its followers to reflection and contemplation, encouraged the study of nature, enjoined the search of knowledge on both sexes, condemned blind imitation, proclaimed the common, original source of religion; it exalted reason and called to a universal unity of man.”¹

✓The Islamic religious system is simple in its ritual, effective in its piety; it is committed to learning as it is committed to the humanities.✓The religious duties incumbent on every Muslim teach an earnest, noble, virtuous life. Ritual prayer five times a day is a means of purification of the heart and elevation of the soul; it restrains a man from committing sin. As to fasting during Ramadan, what could be more effective for self-purification than to be accustomed to endure privation and to practise abstemiousness? Zakat, or regular charity, is an organised poor-relief, while alms-giving is a marked feature of the Faith, and is widely practised. Pilgrimage represents an imposing and inspiring

1. Mohammed Farid Wagdy: *Al-Islam Din Adm Khaled* (Islam, a universal and eternal religion), Arabic, p. 126.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

manifestation of Islamic unity. "Truly, Mohammed, when he instituted the pilgrimage,"¹ says N. N. E. Bray, "did more than impose a religious duty, his genius evolved a means of perpetual communication with the remotest corners of the Moslem world. The naked savage from Central Africa, taking two years to reach the Holy City, is there clothed in the simple linen shirt of ceremony; the Indian Prince, discarding his silken robes, dons the same simple attire. Thus they are made equal in the sight of God. In Mecca they meet in a spirit of brotherhood purely Mohammedan. There they exchange ideas and discuss events which have taken place in their widely flung countries, and when at length they return to their native lands, they are surrounded by their relatives and friends, eager to listen to the tale of their experiences. The most highly organised European press propaganda sinks into insignificance compared with this gigantic dissemination of ideas."²

"I like the Mussulman," said General Gordon, who was a devout Christian, "his life is a fairly pure one." The Muslim lives simply and contentedly, and his religious attitude towards life bids him to be at peace with himself and with the world in which he lives. He shows "owing to his religious

1. For recent narratives of the Hajj (pilgrimage) by European converts see Lady Evelyn Cobbold: *Pilgrimage to Mecca*; P. H. Vander Hoog: *Pilgrims Naar Mekka*; and Germanus Gyula: *Allah Akbar I*, vol. II; Owen Rutter: *Triumphant Pilgrimage*. London, 1937.

2. *Shifting Sands*, p. 16.

ISLAM : A RELIGION AND A SOCIAL ORDER

surrender to the Will of God, an exemplary patience under misfortune, and he bears up under disastrous accidents with an admirable strength of mind.”¹ “Most pleasing also is the dignity which the Muslim develops through his religion, his attitude is one of noble religious pride which is never transformed into vanity.”² A Christian critic in an essay on Islam observed that “Islam had the power of peacefully conquering the souls by the simplicity of its theology, the clearness of its dogma and principles, and the definite number of the practices which it demands. In contrast to Christianity which has been undergoing continual transformation since its origin, Islam has remained identical with itself.”³

Owing to the absolute social equality which Islam introduced, there is no caste in the Islamic society, which may possess by heredity, authority or nobility with privileges. Islam has no clergy, nor church organisation and the office of priesthood is rejected altogether. Any Muslim may suffice to conduct the ritual and none is invested with a sacred character. The theologians are merely those who know the Divine Law ; they do not compose a clerical caste.

H. G. Wells expressed his opinion that “Islam

1. Friedrich Delitzsch : *Die Welt des Islam*, p. 28.

2. *Ibid*, p. 133.

3. Jean Lheureux : *Etude sur L'Islamisme*, p. 35.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

created a society more free from widespread cruelty and social oppression than any society had ever been in the world before."¹ And the Italian Arabist, Laura Veccia Vaglieri, points out the merits of the system of Islam in these words: "A religion which is not content with being a theory adapted to the aspirations of our human nature, nor with fixing a code of sublime precepts which may or may not be applied, but which also provides a code of life, establishes the fundamental principles of our morality on a systematic and positive base, precisely formulates the duties of man towards himself and towards others by means of rules which are capable of evolution and compatible with the widest intellectual development, and which gives its laws a Divine sanction, surely deserves our most profound admiration, as its influence is continual and salutary on man."²

It is characteristic of Islam as a doctrine and spiritual system that it maintains a beautiful harmony between religion and life; it synthesises the practical with the ideal and satisfies equally the material and the spiritual claims of man. It inculcates neither the exclusiveness of Judaism nor does it set up, like Christianity, an ideal impossible of attainment in this world. The system of Islamic ethics constitutes an incalculably precious inheritance

1. *Outline of History*, p. 325.

2. *Apologie de L'Islamisme*, p. 88.

ISLAM: A RELIGION AND A SOCIAL ORDER

not only of Islam, but of the world at large. Do they not provide a rule of action which represents a very high and yet perfectly attainable ideal, the spread of which is the means of saving an ever-increasing number of human beings from moral and physical degradation? A great, incomparable merit of Islamic ethics is that their conception of preparation for the next world does not exclude the notion of happiness in the shape of material welfare in the present world, where, however evanescent individual life may be, the species is meant to endure, and again that the measure of righteousness they demand of man does not exceed his normal capacity of accomplishment. In other words, Islamic ethics do not aim at raising humanity above itself. Taking it as it is, as God Himself has created it, they make allowance for the basic tendencies which prevail in its midst. Instead of seeking to suppress these tendencies, which may succeed in the case of an infinitesimal minority of abnormally constituted individuals, born with a vocation for self-sacrifice, but which must fail in the case of the overwhelming majority, they strive to moderate and regulate them. In practice, the dominant note in Islamic ethics is precisely this sense of moderation and of equipoise. Thus, to take two instances in that part of the code which governs the relations between man and man. Charity is exalted as a very high virtue, but it is prescribed in a measure that does

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

not produce the sensation of privation. Self-restraint is recommended in dealing with offence, but in spirit and not in action, by which is meant that the individual must not allow vindictiveness to take possession of him, but content himself with retaliation in the exact measure of the offence, retaliation being necessary in the interests of the offender and the community. Says the Quran: "In the Law of Equality there is (saving of) Life to you, O ye men of understanding; that ye may restrain yourselves."¹

Again, as regards the general orientation to be given by man to his existence, Islamic ethics deny the necessity for monastic renunciation and self-abnegation, which constitute the essence of Christian teaching. But when they proclaim the legitimacy of that form of happiness residing in the enjoyment of the good things of this life, and even urge man to strive after them, they take care to guard against excessive self-indulgence. The ideal they set up of material well-being is the *via media*, the pursuit of which does not imply violent competition leading to strife, and the possession of which does not produce satiety and demoralisation. As a result, there is much greater harmony between doctrine and practice in Islam than in Christianity. In the Christian world, the automatic, irresistible

1. S. II. 179, A. Yusuf Ali's Translation.

ISLAM : A RELIGION AND A SOCIAL ORDER

progress of civilisation, which is a standing challenge to the authority of the Christian doctrine, has led to the development of the natural tendency of man to seek satisfaction in self-indulgence which has assumed the character and proportions of an all-devouring passion, a passion more marked precisely in those parts of Christendom which were subjected at one time or another to the tyrannical restraints of puritanism. This is certainly more than a coincidence, and bears evidence to the fact that violence exercised on the individual in a sense that runs counter to human nature only provokes a reaction in the opposite direction.

The comparative ease of becoming a good Muslim, which means becoming a thoroughly good man, and the ensuing condition of peace, serenity and dignity which develops in the individual, procuring him the profound feeling of internal satisfaction, explains the extraordinary hold the Muslim creed has on its adherents. Again, the principal secret of the prodigious success of this creed in Asia and Africa is to be found in this facility, as also in its power to make a living reality of the principles of fraternity and equality, irrespective of race and colour, principles which have remained a dead letter outside the fold of Islam.

Owing to prevailing misconceptions in the West, a distorted social picture of Islam appears to

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

foreign minds in the form of polygamy, slavery, divorce, seclusion and inferior position of women, fatalism, etc. Hence it is of prime importance to learn that these traits are neither features nor institutions sanctioned by Islam. Seclusion of women is not a Quranic precept: it was an acquisition from some Byzantine quarter. Fatalism is not a Quranic injunction. It came to be only a popular belief and is not accepted in theology. The doctrine of chance, which conduces to idleness and indifference, and, therefore, hinders progress, is not recognised.

The custom of wearing a veil by women was also a foreign one imported from outside. Considering the prevailing practices and position of women in society before the advent of Islam, not only in Arabia but in other countries, Islam is at once recognised to have emancipated woman and raised her social status to a remarkable extent. "The legal position of woman has made decided progress in Islam; the degradation of woman which crept into society in later times was the result of social influences arising from foreign peoples who have come under the sway of Islam and embraced its Faith."¹ And Lady Evelyn Cobbold writes in her *Pilgrimage to Mecca*, that it was "Islam that removed the bondage in which women were held from the very dawn of human

1. *Der Grosse Brockhaus*, B. 9., 1931, (article : *Islam*).

ISLAM: A RELIGION AND A SOCIAL ORDER

history, and gave them a social standing and legal rights, such as were not granted them in England till many centuries later ". ✓ Woman was placed in Islam on a footing of perfect equality in the exercise of all legal powers and functions, and was given the right to property. She is sovereign in the house of her husband, and respect for her is enforced. There is nothing in the teachings of Islam which opposes that woman may occupy in the Muslim society the place attributed to her among the civilised peoples of Europe. As regards divorce, the Prophet said that "the thing which was lawful but most disliked by God was divorce".

Polygamy was not invented by Islam ; it was rather regulated and subjected to very severe restrictions. The permissively limited polygamy in Islam is almost prohibitive. There can be no question of anything beyond mere permission. Says the Quran: "Marry women of your choice, two or three or four: but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one" (S. IV. 3). Thus, it has hedged it round with conditions most difficult to fulfil. Since religion pursues the good of society, it is beyond dispute that if an institution produces harmful effect it must be modified or adapted to the needs of the time.¹

1. *Al-Manar Review* (Arabic), Cairo, XII. 572

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

It must be remembered in this respect that the marriages contracted by the Prophet after the death of his first wife, Khadija, were all dictated by honourable motives and in some cases by strict political necessity, in accordance with his astute policy which was to bind his followers to himself and to each other by every possible tie.

"Most Mohammedans in all ages have had only one wife," says William Kelly Wright in his *Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1935), and vital statistics in Muslim countries testify to the truth of this statement. Furthermore, the sex ethics in the Islamic moral system are pure and free from all morbidity.

It may not be out of place to record here a statement by Mrs. Annie Besant: "There is pretended monogamy in the West, but there is really polygamy without responsibility; the 'mistress' is cast off when the man is weary of her, and sinks gradually to be the 'woman of the street', for the first lover has no responsibility for her future, and she is a hundred times worse off than the sheltered wife and mother in the polygamous home. When we see thousands of miserable women who crowd the streets of Western towns during the night, we must surely feel that it does not lie in western mouth to reproach Islam for polygamy. It is better for woman, happier for a woman, more respectable for a woman, to live

ISLAM: A RELIGION AND A SOCIAL ORDER

in polygamy, united to one man only, with the legitimate child in her arms, and surrounded with respect, than to be seduced, cast out into the streets—perhaps with an illegitimate child outside the pale of law—unsheltered and uncared for, to become the victim of any passer-by, night after night, rendered incapable of motherhood, despised of all.”

In Christian societies compulsory monogamy has not been construed as exclusive cohabitation for the male partner. The code of the *siete partidas* of thirteenth century Spain expressly legalises concubinage, and to the austere Protestant ethics of Samuel Johnson a husband's affairs were merely lapses from saintliness in the sight of God; socially they were pretty derelictions which a sensible wife would ignore!

Monogamy prevails mainly in simpler societies which are democratically organised and free from conditions which alter the natural sex-ratio. Among some peoples, however, cultural factors intervene in favour of plural marriage. Among warlike tribes, the male population is artificially reduced, and among people like the Eskimos the strenuous hunting life tends to have the same effect. Polygamy may be stimulated also by the first wife's sterility, or certain specific diseases. Allusion may here be made to the sober, bold and logical arguments of a Christian critic of Western society. “The law of the State, based upon the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

dogma of the Church, which makes it a criminal offence for a man to marry more than one wife, by that same provision makes it illegal for millions of women to have husbands, or to bear children....It is untrue that monogamy was advocated by Jesus Christ.... "Whether the question is considered socially, ethically or religiously, it can be demonstrated that polygamy is not contrary to the highest standards of civilisation....The suggestion offers a practical remedy for the western problem of the destitute and unwanted female: the alternative is continued and increased prostitution, concubinage and distressing spinsterhood."¹ This critic adduces in his book abundant facts and figures and points out the limited utility of monogamy, the falling birth-rate, the increase of divorce, and the unsuitability of the monogamous state to a large section of the community. It is significant that he dedicated his book to "his courageous wife and comrade, to whose sympathy he owed so much."

As for slavery, it must be remembered that it existed as a constant factor in the social and economic life of the Near East and Europe throughout the entire period of ancient history. To the ancient mind slavery was a fixed and accepted element of life and no moral problem was involved. No attempt to abolish it was made by any ancient

1. J. E. Clare McFarlane : *The Case for Polygamy, or the Case against the system of monogamous marriage*, London, 1934.

ISLAM : A RELIGION AND A SOCIAL ORDER

government or religious body.

Slavery was thus an established institution when Islam appeared. Far from encouraging it, Islam provided in every feasible way for its abolition. Its insistence that all men, without distinction of race or colour, are equal in the sight of God, was among the first principles of human freedom to take root in any country, and manumission of slaves was a natural consequence. Owing to the fact that slavery was a recognised institution for centuries it could not be swept away entirely in the Prophet's own time. Islam, however, made the emancipation of slaves a pious and highly commendable act, and enjoined kind and humane treatment of slaves, for, as Muslims, slave and master stood on equal footing. Slaves could be permitted to purchase their freedom by an accumulation of their wages, and the atonement of certain sins was proclaimed to be the freeing of slaves. Fugitive slaves on reaching Islamic territory were given their liberty. The child of a free man and a slave woman was born free, while his mother regained her liberty at the death of her husband. The amount of work, also, which a slave might perform was carefully graded, and slaves were never addressed as such but as 'young man' or 'young woman'; they had a stable situation in the family. A slave could be freed by will, even a clearly expressed verbal will. Captives taken in war were held in bondage until ransomed, but

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

slave-hunting and slave-dealing were utterly condemned. The practice which the eunuch represents is not Islamic in any sense. Islamic history is full of illustrations of the manner in which slaves might rise to high positions of trust or government. For instance, the slave Cafoor Al-Akshidi ruled Egypt, and the first king of Delhi, Qutb-ud-Din, was a slave.

Christianity did not abolish slavery. The word slave, a variant of *slav*, gradually came into use from about the eighth century because of the number of captives from Slavic tribes. Slavery continued to exist in every Christian country throughout the Middle Ages and the Church made no attempt to abolish it. Indeed it did not free its own slaves. For generations the German clergy connived at the export of Slavonic people by Jewish merchants. In 1452 Pope Nicholas V empowered the King of Portugal to despoil and sell into slavery all Muslims, and other foes of Christ! A hundred Muslim Moorish slaves sent to Pope Innocent VIII in 1488 by Ferdinand the Catholic were distributed among the cardinals and other notables. Baptised Jews who associated with the unconverted were liable to enslavement. This was also the penalty for a variety of crimes, including conspiracy, high treason, soothsaying, inability to restore stolen property and the sale of arms to Muslims during the offensive wars of the Crusaders. Pope Gregory

ISLAM : A RELIGION AND A SOCIAL ORDER

XI excommunicated the Florentines in 1376, ordering their enslavement wherever found. Women slaves were sold cheap in Rome after the fall of Capua in 1501. Although no one stopped Sir John Hawkins who first brought Negro slaves to North America and believed that he was acting as a good Christian, it was a Christian sect, the Quakers, that led the protest against this second and very detestable slavery. It was only in the eighteenth century that a collective movement for the suppression of the slave-trade arose, and in the nineteenth century the struggle was extended to the suppression of slavery.

The oft-repeated allegation by many Western critics that Islam was propagated by the might of the sword is absolutely false and unfounded. "History makes it clear that the legend of fanatical Muslims sweeping through the world and forcing Islam at the point of the sword upon conquered races, is one of the most fantastically absurd myths that historians have ever repeated."¹

The Jihad, or religious warfare (Arabic word which literally means striving, effort), was essentially defensive, and indicated under definite circumstances: when Muslims are unjustly persecuted or are turned out of their homes injuriously for their beliefs and mode of worship; when any nation attacks first the Muslim territory and violates the

1. De Lacy O'Leary : *Islam at the Cross Roads*, p. 8.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

sanctity of their home and hearth, or when rebels attack, or conspire to expel the Muslims from their country. Says O. Houdas: "The Jihad was not really obligatory except against peoples who had no revealed religion or who menaced the existence of Islam. Thus the Quran states: 'And fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you; but commit not the injustice of attacking them first; verily God loveth not the unjust.'—S. II. 190. And again it says: 'God doth not forbid you to be charitable and to deal justly with those who have not waged war against you on account of your religion and have not driven you out of your homes. Verily God loveth the just; but God forbiddeth you to be associates of those who waged war against you on account of your religion and have driven you out of your homes and have aided in driving you out and whosoever become associates of them are wrong-doers.' Jihad had to be waged to defend Islam against aggressions and to convert idolaters. Once the war was terminated, the Muslims always displayed a great tolerance towards the conquered peoples, leaving them their legislation and religious beliefs."¹

A great modern Muslim authority affirms that a universal social reform can be established by means of eight specific unities realisable in the

1. *La Grande Encyclopædie*, 1894. Tome 20, p. 1006.

ISLAM : A RELIGION AND A SOCIAL ORDER

Islamic system. These are the unity of the Ummah or community, of mankind, of religious unity, legislative unity by impartial justice, unity of spiritual brotherhood, unity of jurisdiction, of language and of international policy.¹

The Islamic religious and social system is neither rigid nor static, it is flexible and progressive, and its focus of effort is the amelioration and ennoblement of human life and character on this earth.

1. Mohammed Rasheed Ridha: *Al-Waky Al-Muhammadi* (Muhammadan Revelation). p. 188 (Arabic), Cairo, 1933.

CHAPTER III

THE QURAN AND THE ISLAMIC LAW

THE Quran is the fountain-head of all Islamic teachings and the basis of the whole religious and social life of the Muslims. All Muslims admit without question the miracle of the *I'jaz*, i.e., the insuperability of the Quran. "Say: 'If the whole of mankind and Jinns were to gather together to produce the like of this Quran, they could not produce the like thereof, even if they backed up each other with help and support.'"¹ As we have said in the preceding chapter, the Quran contains the Divine revelation which have come to Muhammad by direct inspiration through the angel Gabriel. The Quran therefore, is considered in every respect perfect, containing no error and omitting no needful truth. According to the Quran the religion of Islam is as wide in its conception as humanity itself. It did not originate from the preaching of the Prophet Muhammad but it was equally the religion of the prophets who came before him—Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus; in fact, of every prophet of God. Islam is thus considered the natural religion of man, and the Prophet said: "every child that

1. S. XVII. 88, Yusuf Ali's Translation.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

is born conforms to the true religion; then his parents make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian." The Quran based on Revelation has offered reason and understanding for the fulfilment of the Divine purpose. "It is here that religion becomes a matter of personal assimilation of life and power; and the individual achieves a free personality, not by releasing himself from the fetters of the law but by discovering the ultimate source of the law within the depths of his own consciousness. As in the words of a Muslim Sufi—'no understanding of the Holy Book is possible until it is actually revealed to the believer just as it was revealed to the Prophet.'"¹

The Quran bears testimony to the supreme value of learning and science and, accordingly, does not conflict with the findings of science. A happy initiative has been undertaken by modern Muslim scholars and interpreters in their study of the Quran by endeavouring its interpretation in the light of modern knowledge and finding out that it corroborates the established facts of science.* It is to be hoped that such a study will be taken up by an increasing number of Muslims who are specialists in the different domains of science.

1. Sir Mohammad Iqbal in his paper, *Is Religion Possible?* read before the Aristotelian Society, London, on December 5, 1932.

*As an illustration of this, see Mohammed A. El-Ghamrawy: *Fis-Sunan Al-Kawniyyah* (Arabic), Cairo 1937; Dr. Abdul Aziz Ismail: articles on *Islam and modern medicine* in *Al-Azhar Review* (Vol. VII.)

THE QURAN AND THE ISLAMIC LAW

The verses of the Quran are of equally miraculous eloquence throughout the whole text and its style, inimitable and original, has no precedent in the Arabic literature. The Quran, therefore, exercised a most potent influence on the universality of the Arabic language. God says in the Quran; S. II. 23: "And if ye are in doubt as to what We have revealed from time to time to Our servant, then produce a Sûra like thereunto; and call your witnesses or helpers (if there are any) besides God, if your (doubts) are true." Thus we find an intimate union of religion and language which continues through the ages to be of great originality. "Whenever Muhammad was asked a miracle," observes Paul Casanova, "as a proof of the authenticity of his mission, he quoted the composition of the Quran and its incomparable excellence as a proof of its Divine origin." And, in fact, even for those who are non-Muslims, nothing is more marvellous than its language with such a prehensile plenitude and a grasping sonority that its simple audition ravished with admiration those primitive peoples so fond of eloquence! The ampleness of its syllables with a grandiose cadence and with a remarkably large rhythm have been of much moment in the conversion of the most hostile and the most sceptic." ¹

1. *L'Enseignement de l'Arabe au Collège de France, Leçon d'ouverture*, April 26, 1909.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

"But besides the perfection of form and ~~method~~, the Book is also revealed inimitable by its very substance, for, we read in it, among other things, previsions of future events and of relations of fact accomplished since many centuries or which are generally ignored, and allusions to the most different sciences, religious or profane. On the whole we find in ^xit a collection of wisdom which can be adopted by the most intelligent of men, the greatest of philosophers and the most skilful of politicians....But there is another proof of the Divinity of the Quran: it is the fact that it has been preserved intact through the ages since the time of its Revelation till the present day., And so it will always remain, with God's Will, as long as the universe exists. Read and re-read throughout the whole Muslim world, this book does not rouse in the Faithful any weariness; it rather, through repetition, is more and more loved every day. It gives rise to a profound feeling of awe and respect in the one who reads it or listens to it....It was, therefore, neither by means of violence of arms, nor through the pressure of obtrusive missionaries, that caused the great and rapid diffusion of Islam, but, above all, the fact that this Book, presented by the Muslims to the vanquished with the liberty to accept it or not, was the Book of God, the Word of Truth, the greatest miracle Muhammad could show to those in doubt and to those who remained

THE QURAN AND THE ISLAMIC LAW

stubborn.”¹ The unique place of the Arabic language and its universal character throughout the Muslim world has been acquired entirely through its being the language of the Quran, and it, therefore, has become the religious language of all the Faithful. Indeed, prayers are made in Arabic all over the entire Muslim world. Not only has Arabic become the language of religion, but throughout the period in which the Islamic civilisation flourished, Arabic was also the language of science, and arts. And, as the eminent and fair-minded French critic of Islam, Henry de Castries remarked, when speaking about the “First Chair of Arabic at the Collège de France”: ‘the immense prestige which Arabian medicine enjoyed in Europe persisted for a long time after the Middle Ages, and Avicenna, Averroes and their disciples continued to be studied in spite of the great difficulties arising from the ignorance then prevalent of the Arabic Language. It was to facilitate the medical art, much more than to favour philology, that King Henry III had decided in 1587 to found a chair of Arabic at the Royal College.’² It is a remarkable fact that the Arabic language has never suffered throughout the whole history of Islam, even during the periods of decadence of Islamic civilisation, that deterioration and ultimate death which has been the lot of Latin.

1. Laura Veccia Vaglieri : *Apologie de l'Islamisme*, pp. 57-59.

2. *Journal des Debats*, September 16, 1911.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Therefore no analogy could be made between Arabic and Latin in regard to their relationship to the *dialects spoken by the Arab peoples and the Roman languages which arose from Latin, respectively*. For even today, Arabic in its polished form is almost the language of ordinary conversation among the enlightened classes of the Arab countries.

We have already spoken of the immeasurable influence of the Quran on the Faithful. "It is this veneration for the Quran which has always spurred the development of Arabic linguistic studies. Such studies have been undertaken to preserve the language which has served as vehicle for the revelation, and thereby to preserve that revelation itself. The Muslims have carried on their task with a fervour and a devotion which no other language, to our knowledge, has ever won, and which has given us, almost from the beginning, remarkable monuments of Arabic philology and lexicography. Moreover, in it the great dogmatic development of Islam has been accomplished; it is in Arabic that the first mystics transmitted their intimate experiences; it is in Arabic that the Hadith, or the collection of the traditions of the Prophet, has come down to us. Literature itself is full of Muslim religious elements. To know Arabic is to have the means of penetrating more intimately into the real spirit of Islam."

The Quran, as we already said, contains the

1. R. C. in *En Terre d'Islam*, August 1936.

THE QURAN AND THE ISLAMIC LAW

elements of a perfect code. It is the main source of Islamic Law, *Shar'iat*. It laid down the general rules and the established principles necessary for legislation and formulation of codes appropriate to the State and to the peoples of any period. Next to it is the *Sunna*, i.e., the precepts and precedents, and traditions of the Prophet. The traditions or "Hadith" form a rich corpus of original material. The *Sahih* of Al-Bukhari is the best example of the classified collection of Traditions, and enjoys a reverence only second to that of the Quran.

But, besides the editors of tradition, there are also the interpreters. As Hocking remarks: "the remarkable thing about Islam is that, instead of providing for the faithful a single orthodoxy, an officially declared and final interpretation, it offers four orthodoxies among which believers may choose. These four orthodox systems, which mutually recognise and tolerate each other, grew up in the first two centuries of Islam. One of these, the Hanbalite school, seeks a literal faithfulness to primitive Islam, reviving ancient customs and is characterised by rigour. The other three systems have given to Islamic Law a group of usable principles of interpretation, that is to say, principles of growth. They are:

"The principle of analogy, *Qiyas*: similar case, similar rule. This is the 'Hanafite' principle, with a wide perception of similarities.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

"The principle of public advantage: if a literal application of a Quranic rule works evident disadvantage, it cannot be meant in that sense. For—and here appeal is made 'to one of the great Islamic generalities—' in Islam there is no injury'. This 'Malikite' principle would seem to allow room for a modern, sociological jurisprudence.... And if legal logic is to be subordinated to an evident public good, the way is open for progress.

"The principle of 'agreement', *Ijma*', is based on another generalisation, 'My people will never agree in error'. At first, this meant that what the surviving companions of the Prophet, or what the leaders at Medina, agreed upon as being good Islam, is good Islam. Allowing this 'Shafi'ite' method to be used in other places gave a chance for local variation. It is capable of being extended to variations in time also."¹ After discussion of these principles of Muslim jurisprudence, *Fiqh*, Hocking continues: "I feel justified, therefore, in my assertion that Islam contains in abundance the necessary principles for its growth. Indeed it may be said that until the middle of the 13th century Islam was the vehicle for whatever growth in civilisation the western world could boast. And let me note that I am speaking here solely of Islamic Canon Law, its most conservative part. This Canon Law or

1. W. E. Hocking : *The Spirit of World Politics*, pp. 458-459.

THE QURAN AND THE ISLAMIC LAW

Shar'iat is but a part of the actual law of Muslim lands. Islam has been peculiarly free to carry on its ordinary life on the basis of local custom and the decrees of local rulers. Its rigidity lies chiefly in those personal and family matters which come close to the ethical sense of a religion.”¹

There are no fundamental differences between the orthodox schools. They all recognise the same principles of Law and differ merely in the application; their juridical thinking and the results achieved are practically alike. They recognise each other as orthodox and as of equal authority. Further evolution recognised the Quran, the Sunna the *Ijma'* and *Qiyas* as the four roots, *Usul*, of *Fiqh* (jurisprudence). The *Ijma'*, in the sense of the agreement of the learned men of any period, came to be regarded as infallible and binding for the entire future; it is thus a source of progressive development in Islamic Law.

Islamic Law is not a simple collection of precepts, but is a system based on broad general principles of growth and development. Contrary to the misconception of many historical observers in the West that it is rigid, fixed and immutable, Islamic Law is in fact possessed of a remarkable power of adaptability to different ages and peoples, so that it can keep pace with the march of humanity.

1. W. E. Hocking: *The Spirit of World Politics*, p. 461.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

For the fact must not be lost sight of that Muslim Law has its religious as well as its secular aspects with special applications for each. In Islam, which harmonises opposing forces, we find a source of growth as well as of conservatism, and the Sacred Law of Islam is, therefore, capable of adjusting itself to varying time and space. It can beget new ideas of its own, passing independent judgment on the various proposals of modern life, accepting some and rejecting others according to its own living standards.

Ameer Ali rightly observes that the suggestion or the assertion made by some Western critics that Islamic Laws are inadaptably to modern conditions "is clearly made on an erroneous apprehension of the Muslim civil Law. The principle of development is embodied in the Law itself. The dictum clearly stated in *Radd-ul-Muhtâr* that judicial interpretation must be subject to 'the necessities of time' (*Maslahat-ul-Waqt*) points to the adaptation of the rules to circumstances arising from changing conditions in the affairs of the world." Then he continues: "Considering that even in the eighth century of the Christian era Islam had a regular procedure for the settlement of disputes far in advance of what Europe possessed until very recent times, shows the progress the Islamic Laws had already made beyond anything known in Christendom. As late as 1832 the common law of England allowed the settlement of

THE QURAN AND THE ISLAMIC LAW

disputes by battle. The difference in the status of women under English common law and the laws of Islam is worthy of note. Married or maiden, she possessed no civil rights. She could not sue in her own name; her *couverture* was a feudal bondage in disguise.* In Islam a woman possessed and exercised all rights which a man did. She was even entitled to hold judicial offices. To state that Islamic Laws are not adaptable to modern conditions is very far from the fact. Even a cursory study of the Muslim Laws established a steady development in the interpretation and application of the laws. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that the laws of Islam could not be made adaptable to modern conditions necessitated by the advance of time.”¹

In recent times modifications along modern lines have been introduced in the laws of progressive Muslim countries like Turkey, Egypt and Iran. The reforms in Turkey are well-known.

Since 1875 Egypt has a Code of Personal Statute and succession which has repeatedly been revised. The law No. 56 of December 11, 1923 forbids marriage if the age of the woman is below 16 and that of the future husband below 18 years. The Decree No. 25 of March 10, 1929 has restrained

* Nay, in the United States, like Alabama, where guardianship of children belongs by law exclusively to the father. The mother cannot be there the guardian of children. In the New England States the wife's earnings belong by law not to herself, but to her husband.

1. *The Near East*, April 17, 1924.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the cases of marital repudiation and widely opened for the wife the right of divorce. The tutelage exercised by the mother is prolonged from 9 to 11 years in the case of a girl, and from 7 to 9 if the child is a boy.

In Tunis there has been, since 1907, a code of obligations and of Contracts and, since 1911, a code of civil procedure, and a penal code, which took effect from 1914.

In European countries, which contain Muslim minorities, Muslim Law has undergone considerable evolution. For example, in Yugoslavia the wearing of the veil is optional since 10th July, 1928. Marriage is celebrated in front of the Qadi (judge) and by personal appearance of the conjoined (husband and wife); explicit consent of the woman must figure in the *procès-verbal*. Polygamy is disappearing in fact; the Qadi does not celebrate a polygamous marriage, if the husband does not justify it through a valid reason, such as disease or sterility of his first wife. Again, unilateral repudiation is practically suppressed; the declaration of a husband cannot, *per se*, provoke the dissolution of marriage.

In Poland, polygamy has long fallen into disuse. And recently the Albanian Parliament voted the abolition of the veil and of Polygamy.*

* For evolution of Muslim Law among the Muslim minorities of Europe see Dr. Mehmed Begovice: *Die Anwendung des Scheriatrechtes in den Balkanstaaten*, in the *Moslemische Revue*, October 1935.

THE QURAN AND THE ISLAMIC LAW

During the past few months there has been in Egypt a revival of interest in Islamic Law and its adaption to modern conditions of life. This interest has been prompted by the new status of Egypt as a national sovereign independent State, which, with the abolition of Capitulations—which she has successfully achieved—she will have to readjust and constitute her own new legislation. Egypt will promulgate a new civil law. As the great majority of Egyptians are Muslims (15 millions), the legal reforms can only be made within the framework of Islamic Law (*Shar'iat*). By the working of the four rites which regulate Muslim law there is ample scope for progress. Till now the admitted rite in Egypt was that of the Hanafite school of law, which is already very liberal. A special commission presided over by the erudite Rector of Al-Azhar University, Sheikh Al-Maraghi, will seek in the four rites the solutions which are most favourable to the modernisation of the laws which regulate the social and family life of Muslims in Egypt.

It is worthy of note that the leading jurists in the Egyptian civil courts as well as the erudite Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Cairo, Dr. Abdel Razzak Sanhoury, have insisted upon the fitness of Islamic Law for modern legislation and upon its consideration as a rich and fertile source of the legislation which the country is entering upon

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

in her new era of independence.*

Thus in the opinion of Dr. A. Sanhoury: "Islamic Law '*Shar'iah*' should be given much attention by the Egyptian legislator, when legislation will be revised. For it has been the Law of the country before the application of the present laws, and is still the working law of the country in a large part of Civil Law, namely, the section of Personal Statute, as well as in some sections of the Law of Dealings.

"To draw our legislation from the source of Islamic Law, as much as possible, is a work which fits our old legal traditions and is in accordance with the right concept that law is not simply created, but grows and develops, its present being linked to its past.

"This is from the historical side. As for the scientific side, Islamic Law '*Shar'iah*' is considered by fair critics one of the highest legal systems in the world, and is a suitable basis of comparative law. In the history of Law, we do not know a legal system which stands on firm grounds of accurate legal logic, and which equals that of Roman Law, except the Islamic Law.

"Therefore, if we have such a great legacy, how can we neglect it? We do not hesitate to

* Several learned Western jurists have also recognised the inherent flexibility and the fitness of ISLAMIC LAW, such as Del Vecchio, Sperl, Kohler, Wigmore, Lambert and others.

THE QURAN AND THE ISLAMIC LAW

recommend the necessity of resorting to the verdicts of Islamic Law in many subjects where such a resource would be possible ; in fact some of these verdicts are based on principles equal to or superseding the most modern legal principles at present.

“ We do not deny that Islamic Law is in need of a strong scientific movement to renovate it, to clear away the dust of intellectual stagnation which has accumulated upon it and which has long spread over the East, and to break off the chains of imitation with which late jurists bound themselves.

“ We should not forget that *Ijma'* which is one of the Four Sources of *Shar'iat* (Islamic Law) may be considered the key to evolution in this Law ; it is *Ijma'* which assures for Islamic Law a new life which adapts itself to the exigencies of changing civilisations *Ijma'* is thus the element of renovation in the Islamic Law, which preserves its elasticity and its capability of development.”¹

1. Quoted in *Al-Fat'h* (Islamic Weekly, Cairo), vol. XI. No. 535. See also, on this subject of the evolution of Islamic Law, Abdel Salam Zohny, *Revival of Jurisprudence*, in *Al-Azhar Review*, Cairo, vol. VIII. No. 1

CHAPTER IV

ISLAMIC POLITY

THE foundations of the Islamic State were laid by the Prophet after his Hijra (emigration) from Mecca to Medina where the Muslim community had been consolidated into a new political structure. The old Arab tribal units were upset; clan feeling and pedigree were subdued, and the Arabs in the new and growing Muslim State became all united under one banner, with one title: Islam.

Society in the Muslim State is subject to the sovereignty of the Divine Law or *Shar'iah*. In this society everyone has individually to perform the duties which the *Shar'iah* enjoins, and also to see that they are respected and practised by others.

Islam has always insisted that all believers are equal in the sight of God. Therefore sharply demarcated classes are absent. There is no specially privileged class, neither a hereditary aristocracy nor a privileged priesthood. Socially or economically there is no difference between the greatest of the Caliphs and the commonest of the Faithful.

(The Muslim State is a form of republic which is a non-tribal, non-racial, non-sacerdotal, non-autocratic state.) The early Islamic State was theocentric.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

The Muslims choose one from among themselves as their leader who is called the Caliph or Imam or Amir-ul-Muminin, i.e., Commander of the Faithful. The subject of the Caliphate will be fully discussed in the following chapter.

The affairs of the State are performed by "Shoora" or Council. The doctrine of Ijma' (already discussed in the previous chapter) is of great importance as a guidance in the affairs of the State.

The Caliph or the Imam, as head of the State transcends family, tribal, or racial partialities. The duty of the ruler to take advice and never to act without consultation is one of the essential principles of Islamic polity. The Quran says (III. 159): "And consult them in affairs. Then, when thou hast taken a decision, put thy trust in God, for God loveth those who put their trust (in Him)."

The religious polity of Islam is not committed to any particular form of sovereignty, such as kingship, aristocracy, or democracy. It defines certain great principles and lays down certain conditions for a righteous state. The principle of liberty is insisted upon. The supremacy of the law is one of the fundamental tenets of Islamic polity. It is supreme not only over the subjects but over the rulers. This supreme law has its source in divine ordinance. Muslim conception of law postulates something archetypal and eternal at the base, with

ISLAMIC POLITY

ever-adapting superstructures constructed according to the needs, opportunities, tastes, temperaments, and intelligence of the various sections of people concerned, and constructed by the wisest of the people with the tacit consent of all in whose interests they are constructed. It is the base which gives it vigour and vitality and links it with universal religion and archetypal ethics, whose aim is to bring into conformity the will of man with the will of God. Willing obedience is necessary to the efficacy of law.*

Non-Muslims in a Muslim State enjoy full freedom: the charter of the Prophet gives them full liberty. The scheme of taxation on *Zimmis* (non-Muslims under Muslim protection or trusteeship) in the early days of Islam was as fair as was consistent with the ideas of the time. The *Jizya* was not a penal tax: it was in place of military service which was obligatory on every Muslim.

In the early Muslim State, the State's income was distributed equally among all.** The public treasury called *Bait-ul-Mal* belonged to the whole Muslim community and all had equal claims to it. The whole wealth of the early Islamic State belonged to the whole Muslim community.

In the early days of Islam an elaborate scheme

* Cf. A. Yusuf Ali, *The Religious Polity of Islam*, in *Journal of Transactions of Society for Promoting the Study of Religions*, January, 1934.

** Cf. A. von Kremer, *Geschichte der Herrschenden Ideen des Islam*.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

of finance was worked out. ✓ Certain classes of people were exempted on account of poverty, or infirmity, or particular economic conditions. Various kinds of expenditure, and certainly all expenditure on the personal caprices of the ruler, were held to be unlawful. The Muslim State never acknowledged that finance was not a part of morals. Property and capital, as well as the State's right to control all the resources of the community are fully recognised. But on the other hand, all factors which make for the misuse or selfish abuse of economic power by individuals or corporations are strictly regulated. The State's duty to provide for the well-being and suitable employment of its citizens is emphasised.

There is a widely spread misconception about Church and State in Islam. Western historians, scholars and critics have assumed the distinct existence of these two elements in Islam, as they are in Christendom, and that the idea of their separation is identical. But this is a fallacy. If there is any apparent separation or distinction between Church and State in Islam it is and can only be functional; whereas in the Western sense this separation is an organic one. In the Islamic conception it is impossible to draw a sharp and fast line of demarcation between religion and politics seeing that in the Islamic society religion pervades and permeates every individual action, both in the spiritual and in the material domain. In other words,

ISLAMIC POLITY

both religion and politics exist in Islam in a perfect symbiosis. It may be, therefore, safely assumed that there is no Church, as such, in Islam, at least, in the Western sense of the word. Also it may, consequently, be assumed that Islam is the State, and the State is Islam. If in some Islamic countries which have drawn up their Constitution along Western lines, Islam is declared the religion of the State, this should, in my opinion, be regarded as superfluous and as being only a formality. In the Islamic State politics is a symbion which, together with religion, forms one entity.

✓ Only once in a long period of fourteen centuries has Islam enjoyed the blessings of the perfect Islamic State, and that was under the single government of the first four Caliphs, the Wise or "Rightly-Guided" *al-Khulafa'-ul-Rashidin*: Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman and Ali. Theirs was the golden age of the unified Islamic State. In our own times, the only place in the Islamic world where the theocentric Islamic State is being successfully set up is Sa'udi Arabia under the mighty Wahhabi ruler Ibn Sa'ud.

Thus we see from the above that in the ideal form of the Islamic State, the government draws the inspiration of its constitution from the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet (the Sunna and Traditions), and obtains from the Shoora or Council the advice and help of the representatives of the Muslim community. Further, it establishes freedom of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

opinion, equality, good citizenship and justice for all, irrespective of race and creed.

With the expansion of Islam, there have been formed several Muslim States, and these have been controlled, during the early Caliphate, through a unified central government, which, in its conception and machinery, was a form of league of nations.

It must not be assumed that Islam tried a militant form of imperialism or a monopolising government, or did endeavour the formation of a universal empire similar to that of Alexander, Rome or Napoleon. For Islam did not conquer for the lust of conquest, but for the propagation and institution on earth of the Divine message. Again the Islamic system of government did not seek any grouping analogous to that which has been later known and pursued in the West: grouping of principal powers (e.g. the Holy Alliance, European Concert, principal Allied Powers at the time of the World War). These groupings in the West have been formed in order to dominate, to impose their will and to conquer and vanquish, under motives of gain and aggrandisement. Whereas the Islamic polity conceives a truly international government, on a league of nations' basis. As an eminent French jurist has said :

"The international government such as it is conceived in the system of the League of Nations, is a government accepted by common accord of the member States. It is a government by consent and

ISLAMIC POLITY

not imposed.”¹ And it is just this form of government which Islam conceives for the commonwealth of the different Islamic States which form the Muslim world.

The supremacy of the Divine Law is held in the Islamic polity as being essential to the efficacy of government. That the Islamic law is flexible and has the power of adaptability to the needs of different peoples and the spirit of different ages explains the possibility of legislation in the Islamic system which admits of development and progress. In this connection, it would be erroneous to speak of the reforms made in Kamalist Turkey as having been only possible by eliminating the influence of religion and by discarding the institutions of Muslim Law, as is asserted by superficial observers, and by Kamalist publicists, one of whom wrote about “the basis of reform”²:

“Laicism has been for us what the end of the struggle between the Church and the State and the conquest of the liberty of conscience was for the Occidental world.

“The Middle Ages of Christendom lasted during fifteen centuries; whilst the Middle Ages of Islam were not extinguished—and only in Turkey—except with the Kamalist reform.”

1. Georges Scelle, *Théorie du Gouvernement International*, in *The New Commonwealth Quarterly*, April-June, 1935.

2. Faliḥ Rifki Atay in *La Turquie Kamaliste*, December, 1936.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Such statements reveal an ignorance of the spirit of Islamic teachings and a misinterpretation of the injunctions of Muslim Law. When the Kamalist Turks found their country extremely humiliated at the end of the World War they revolted to liberate it. *Their revolution was twofold: firstly, externally, against the foreign invaders—the Greeks and their supporters, the Allies, and, secondly, internally, against the existing system of government.* The first may be called the material war, and the second the spiritual revolution. They realised—and that was right—that the Ottoman dynasty was decadent and was no more worthy of controlling the destinies of Turkey. In their revolt against the persons of the Ottoman dynasty, the Kamalist Turks rose against the existing order of affairs as well. As this order in the Ottoman Empire was, at any rate, the Islamic system of law, the Kamalists accused it for being responsible for the backward state of their country and, therefore, proceeded to abolish the dynasty and, with it, the existing Islamic system, as being an integral part of the old order. Instead of realising that this system was far from true Islam and that the then existing corruption was not the fault of Islam, but of the Ottoman rulers and their system of government, they brutally broke loose from the institutions of the Islamic Law. They were wrong, as was Europe, to judge Islam by the Ottoman system or the order of affairs existing in Turkey

ISLAMIC POLITY

under the Ottomans, which was in many respects very far from the spirit and principles of Islam, the pure Islam of the Prophet and of the early Caliphate. It is, of course, fallacious to reproach Islam for what certain Muslims or Muslim States have done contrary to the real spirit of Islam.

In the violence of their revolt, the Kamalist Turks did not attempt a true and enlightened interpretation of the Islamic Law for them to see that it is not incompatible with reform and progress, and the result was that there was no trace in Kamalist Turkey of a movement of pure religious revival. They simply and skilfully copied Western codes and systems. As Sir Muhammad Iqbal wisely remarks:

“The adoption of the Swiss Code with its rule of inheritance is certainly a serious error which has arisen out of the youthful zeal for reform excusable in a people furiously desiring to go ahead. The joy of emancipation from the fetters of a long-standing priestcraft sometimes drives a people to untried courses of action. But Turkey as well as the rest of the world of Islam have yet to realise the hitherto unrevealed economic aspects of the Islamic Law of inheritance which von Kremer describes as ‘the supremely original branch of Muslim Law’”.¹

It has been evident that, in fostering her relations with the neighbouring Islamic countries,

1. *Islam and Ahmadism*, 1936, p. 37.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Kamalist Turkey abstains from invoking the Islamic ties. *Even the other day, at the League of Nations' Assembly for the admission of Egypt, it was* striking to observe that whereas all representatives of Islamic Oriental countries at the League (Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, India) invoked the powerful and indissoluble ties of Islam between their respective countries and Egypt, the representative of Turkey, himself president of the Assembly, abstained from any reference to religious ties between Turkey and Egypt. This is rather significant, since even the representative of France invoked the Islamic ties between Egypt and the tens of million Muslims under French rule, which would also justify full satisfaction of France to see Egypt emerge from her struggle for independence as a free sovereign State, Member of the League of Nations. It is regrettable to witness this purely secular attitude for Turkey ought, by now, to have realised that the West is now convinced that there is no danger of a so-called Pan-Islamic wave of aggression. She ought also to have realised that all modern reforms and modern progress may be equally well achieved in harmony with Islam and without gradually straying from its fold.

In the Islamic State, in its ideal form, there is harmonising of the contending principles of authority and liberty; neither absolute rule and autocracy nor excessive liberalism; neither totalitarian

ISLAMIC POLITY

nor communist, but a blend in the healthiest form of antagonising principles is the ideal and basis of such a State. This permanent reconciliation of principles maintains stable government and a successful practical democracy, by means of the constant exercise of the authority of the Divine Law. All parties in the State (if such exist) whether in office or opposition, work within the Constitution (which is based upon the spirit of the Quran and Islamic Law).

The working of religion in the Islamic State is not that of a militant faith. The attitude of Muslim polity to war is clearly set forth in the Quran (S. II. 190): "And fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you; but commit not the injustice of attacking them first: verily God loveth not the unjust (the transgressors)."

The principles of foreign policy of the perfect Islamic State as laid down in the Quran and in the teachings of the Prophet as evidenced by his actions and charters, etc., and as practised by the early Caliphs, attain to the ideal laid down by the most modern and advanced policy. Thus Bryce in his *International Relations*, pp. 200-201, holds ¹ :

"The State must not seek to deceive other States, nor undertake obligations it does not

1. Quoted in Charles Hodges' *The Background of International Relations*.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

mean to perform.

"It must not break its plighted faith.

"It must not make unprovoked attacks upon its neighbours.

"It must not encourage conspiracies and stir up rebellion in other countries for its own advantage.

"It must not support and encourage the government of another State in acts of oppression and cruelty.

"It ought not, when it has vanquished an enemy, to inflict humiliating injuries in gratification of its own revengeful passion. Vindictiveness, odious in an individual man, is bad policy in a State, for it prolongs exasperation and sows the seeds of future trouble. Reparations and indemnities may be exacted as damages for injuries and are awarded by courts of law, but vengeance is a dangerous guide."

Considerations of space do not permit of detailed quotations from the Quran, Traditions and Charters of the Prophet and Early Caliphs in evidence of these principles which are embodied in the Islamic polity.*

└ The Islamic system of State practically manifests its contribution to solve the urgent problems which

*Cf. Abdel-Wahhab Khallaf: *As-Siyassah Ash-Shar' iyyah* (Religious Polity of Islam), Arabic, pp. 63-100.

ISLAMIC POLITY

impede man's progress. It successfully stands the challenge of other faiths, not only religious, but other types of spiritual consciousness or convictions which are determining the actual lives of significant groups of people. Educational, philanthropic, social, economic, national and political 'faiths' are thus included. [The effort of the Islamic system is to help mankind to develop a true spiritual dynamic, competent to master and reform the world.]

CHAPTER V

THE CALIPHATE

THE Caliphate is an Islamic office or institution involving, theoretically, successorship to the position of the founder of the religion. In the spirit of the orthodox Muslim law the Caliph is the mandatory of the Muslim community. The Caliph is not an autocratic sovereign who is absolute and not responsible for his acts. He has extensive executive and judicial attributions; but he cannot at all encroach upon the legislative domain. The late practice of despotism is quite contrary to the spirit and word of Muslim law. The *Shar'iah* does not consider judicial power as independent from the executive one. It subordinates the first to the second, but this subordination is of no practical importance, for Caliph and judge must both bow in front of law, that is to say, in front of legislative power. It is between the executive and judicial powers on the one hand, and the legislative power on the other, that there is complete separation, a separation which is still more marked than that which exists in modern law.

It remains to know in whom the legislative power resides. In theory, it is God only who directs

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

us by His divine Laws. His Will is revealed to us directly in the Quran. Secondly and indirectly, the Hadith (traditions) of the Prophet; thirdly in the principle of Consensus (Ijma') which constitutes a corpus of laws displaying the democratic spirit. The fourth source is analogy (Qiyas). The Will of God cannot thus be expressed by the Caliph who is not invested with legislative power. It can only be expressed by the will of the whole Muslim community or nation. What is more democratic than to affirm that the will of the nation is the expression of the Will of God? Only the nation and not the Caliph can legislate. It is even the base of modern parliamentary regime, with this difference: that in the Islamic system, the representatives of the nation are not elected, they are designated by their personal capacity in the judicial sense (*Ijtihad*). /

We must distinguish between the institution of the Caliphate in itself and the designation of a candidate who is most worthy of filling the functions of Caliph. The first is a question of principle and the second a question of persons. Muslims have never confounded these two questions. They have always solved the first in the sense of the obligatory character of the Caliphate, since the day when Abu Bakr with the unanimous approbations of the Companions, proclaimed the necessity of the institution in order to insure the

THE CALIPHATE

execution of the laws of Islam. As to the question of persons, it is admitted that there has been divergence of opinions from the beginning. This divergence at first took place in the form of pacific discussion but, later on, the arguments of reason gave place to the force of arms.

The recognition of the obligatory character of the Caliphate has resisted all controversies. The two modes of the investiture of the Caliphate are election by the Muslim community and nomination by the preceding Caliph. The legitimacy of the Caliph does not exactly depend on the manner of his election or on a law of succession; it is derived from the proclamation of the people, the ceremony of the proclamation is called "Bai'ah." The sovereign is named in the Friday sermon (*Khutba*) in the mosques and in praying for him.

The mode of succession of Muslim sovereigns varied. Abu Bakr, the first successor of the Prophet, was chosen by the most influential party in the Muslim community; Omar was designated by Abu Bakr; Othman, by electors whom Omar had named; the election of Ali led to civil war; with Muawiya the dynastic rule was established, first in the family of the Umayyads. Even in the dynasties the order of succession was not always constant. Sometimes the Caliph chose one of his sons as his heir-apparent; for example, Haroun-ur Rashid designated three of his sons with entail.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

The first of the three, Al-Amin, wished to oust the second, Al-Mamun; but the latter revolted and Al-Amin was killed. Among the Ottoman Sultans it was rather the brother who succeeded.

In principle the Caliph had to be of the Quraish family, but that was not the case with the Ottoman Sultans. In order to legitimatise them, it was admitted that they had inherited rights from the old Arab Caliphs when, in the time of Salim I, they conquered the Sacred Cities of Mecca and Medina.

After his designation the Caliph becomes the chief of executive and judicial powers of the Islamic Government. The authority of the Caliphate is general and extends over all the Empire. The modalities of Islamic unity under the Caliphate may differ according to the needs of time and the necessities of social evolution, but the fact of unity under some form which it represents remains incontestable. During the whole period of the regular Caliphate the consensus was established in the sense of the unity of the Caliphate, and consequently, of the unity of the Muslim world. The organisation of individual liberty is insured by the authority of the Caliphate. Omar, the second Caliph, proclaimed the liberty of men, eleven centuries before the French revolution, in saying "Do not enslave men, their mothers have borne them free." The general authority of the Caliphate, the so-called "*Walayah*", must be single, exclusive

THE CALIPHATE

and independent. It extends over all the Muslims of the Empire. It equally extends over all non-Muslims inhabiting the Empire, with certain modalities. Belonging to the political attributions of the Caliph are the insurance of the external and internal security, the administration of the Empire and the financial legislation. In the religious domain as well as the political domain, the Caliph is an agent of the executive. He watches the accomplishment by the Muslims of certain religious duties which have a predominant social character ; for example, the Zakat and the pilgrimage. As for all duties which appeal to the conscience, such as the prayers, he does not intervene.

The Muslim is in direct and immediate relation with God for all that concerns the salvation of his soul. The intervention of an intermediate agent is a heresy.

There exist in Islamic literature several important treatises on the ethics of sovereigns. One of the great philosophers of Islam, Al-Farabi (died 950), wrote a treatise on the "Model City" in which he represents the princes as wise men, whose principal thought must be to prepare their subjects for the happiness of the other life. Another very well-known author who studies this question is Al-Mawardi (died 1058). He wrote a treatise entitled '*Kitab al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya*'. It contains the theory of the Caliphate, a description of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the qualities necessary for a Caliph, a study of the different methods of election, and a definition of the power of the vizirs and provincial governors, with an indication of its limits. This treatise has been highly valued in Islam. The same author has also left a collection of "Counsels to Kings", a work on the rules which ministers must follow, and still another on politics and government, entitled "The Means of Facilitating Reflection and of Hastening Victory" (*Tas'hil an-Nazar wa ta'jil az-Zafar*).

A celebrated Seljuke vizir, Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of the academies of Baghdad, Neshapur, and Basra (died 1092), wrote on the art of government, which he himself practised in a very superior manner. His book is entitled '*Siyasat Namah*' (a treatise on government) and is dedicated to the Sultan Malik Shah. The kings must, according to him, respect the learned doctors, must love a pure religion, and have a strong faith; but it is not their domain to govern religion. Their duty is rather to occupy themselves with economic interests: to drain the land, to build bridges, to found villages, to attend to the cultivation of the soil, to build strongholds and caravan-routes, and beautiful monuments. These works will gain for a prince the gratitude of his people, and eternal recompense. Nizam-ul-Mulk recommends kings to guard against the influence of women.

To the great Persian poet, Sa'di (died 1264), we

THE CALIPHATE

owe some very fine pages on the ethics of kings. The whole of the first chapter of his "*Bostan*" is devoted to the duties of kings and good governors. Nushirwan exhorts his son Ormazd thus: "Be the defender of the weak, and sacrifice your rest to work for them, to the alleviation of poverty and misfortune. A king owes his crown to his subjects;avoid grieving the heart of your people; that would thoroughly destroy your own power." "The people," the poet says further, "is a fruit-tree which must be cared for if its fruits are to be enjoyed."

He has recommendations for labourers :

'The labourer works with more energy when he can count upon peace and prosperity.'

He has also the same for merchants :

'The King who oppresses the merchants closes, to the people and to the army, the sources of wealth.'

He also recommends that "men of war and men of advice" should be befriended and soldiers well paid. Yet this great kindness which the poet wishes to find in the sovereign must be accompanied by mistrust and craft; he evidently prefers the latter to strength.

'While clever negotiations may assure the success of a transaction, gentleness is preferable to the use of force. Instead of traps, sow gold under your steps; your benefactions will blunt

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the sharpened teeth of the enemy. The empire of the world belongs to cleverness and craft, kiss the hand that you cannot bite; lavish caresses on your enemy as you would on your friend, while waiting for an opportunity to flay him alive. Dread the blows of the most humble of your adversaries; it is the drops of water that make the torrents !'

During thirteen centuries of existence the Caliphate has met with widely varying fortunes. The chief phases of its history include the Medina Caliphate, 632 to 661 A.D.; the Omayyad Caliphate, 661 to 750, the Abbasside Caliphate, 750 to 1258; the Caliphate under the Mameluks, 1261 to 1517; and the Caliphate under the Ottomans, 1517 to 1924. The apparent continuity of this schedule suggests a single historical function exercised over all Muslims; but in point of fact after the first phase, universality began to disappear. Important minor phases are the Caliphate of Cordova in Spain, the Fatimide Caliphate at Cairo and Shi'ite and Khawarjite schisms.

Commencing by being a purely religious system Islam became at Medina a system which was principally religious and accessorially political; then under the regular Caliphate of the first four Caliphs it was a system equally religious and political, and finally, during the irregular Caliphate a system principally political and accessorially religious. This continual and progressive invasion of religion by

THE CALIPHATE

politics shows the necessity of having a conception of Islam which differs from that of other religions. Islam is not only a religion, it is also a fatherland. The irregular Caliphate, however, is not to be considered as an accessory institution. It becomes of prime importance, seeing that this regime has lasted during thirteen centuries.

The Prophet did well lay the foundations of an Islamic state: a regime of taxes, a juridical system, administrative and military institutions, etc. These institutions carry in them the germs of evolution and of adaptability without, however, ceasing to be a part of the Islamic system. Advised by a small council of his earliest and most able followers, he ruled the Muslim community in a unified way.

The death of the Prophet left Islam without a head, and the Muslims without a sovereign; there was danger, therefore, of the newly formed Empire falling into confusion. Stunned by the unexpected event, the Companions recognised immediately the desirability of continuing unified headship. The moment was critical. The unity of the faith was at stake. The sovereignty of Islam demanded an undivided Caliphate. It was necessary to find a successor of the Prophet in order to save and consolidate his menaced work and to insure the application of the precepts of Islam. As to the designation of the person on whom to devolve the reins of government, the inevitable conflict of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

opinions soon manifested itself. In this confused situation the energy of Abu Bakr, surrounded by two great companions, Omar and Abu Obaidah, was decisive. General election by the entire community was effected, and Abu Bakr was placed in the position of successor or caliph of the Apostle of God, '*Khalifat-Rasul-Allah*'. With the submission of Ali to the authority of Abu Bakr, the democratic principles superseded the hereditary regime. With the election of Abu Bakr was created for the subsequent history of the Caliphate an exceedingly important precedent, inasmuch as it led later on to the establishment of the principle of the constitutional law, *viz.*, the principle of free election by the assembled community and its confirmation by general homage. Thus the authority of the Caliph is derived from the Nation, the act of election is a veritable contract between him and the nation. The inaugural address of Abu Bakr is of great significance: "Oh People! Now I am Ruler over you albeit not the best amongst you. If I do well, support me; if I err set me right. Follow the True, wherein is faithfulness; eschew the False, wherein is treachery. The weaker amongst you shall be as the stronger with me, until I shall have redressed his wrong: and the stronger shall be as the weaker until, if the Lord will, I shall have taken from him that which he hath wrested. Obey me only so far as I obey God and His Prophet.

THE CALIPHATE

If I go beyond these bounds, I have no authority over you." ✓

The period of the regular Caliphate commences immediately with the election of the first Caliph Abu Bakr and terminates with the assassination of Ali, the fourth Caliph. Its duration was about 30 years. During this period, the Islamic government functioned in conformity with the system established by the Prophet during his life. As to the form of government of the Prophet at Medina, it was theocentric. ✓

The three distinctive traits of the Caliphate, viz., unity of the Muslim world, effective application of the principles of Islamic Law, and the uniting of religious and political attributions were realised in the government of the regular Caliphate. The Muslims consider the government of the pious Caliphs as the fundamental document which affirms, in fact and practice, their political liberty. The regular Caliphate of the first four Caliphs, to use the terminology of modern public law, had a republican democratic form. It was a republic with one particularity: the president or the caliph was elected for life. The procedure of election was not organised; sometimes there was resort to direct election, sometimes to nomination by the preceding Caliph, confirmed by the general approbation of the electors. The regular Caliphate was also a democracy. The Caliph was not the all-powerful;

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

he had a limited power.

The Muslim law remained the applicable system as in the time of the Prophet. The Muslim Empire was strongly centralised. The vast Empire of Islam, although politically unified, was composed of different races and of peoples of different religions. The Caliphs ruled the heterogeneous elements with the most perfect impartiality and the most scrupulous justice.

Then followed the period of the irregular Caliphate. The system of government became, principally, political and accessorially, religious. The republican and democratic regime of the regular Caliphate was soon replaced by a hereditary and despotic regime. Two Arab dynasties succeeded each other in a period of six centuries. With the fall of the latter, the Arab Caliphate came to an end. The institution was perpetuated by the Turks until 1924 when the Ottoman Caliphate was abolished. The irregular Caliphate lasted during thirteen centuries, but it was not always flourishing. Its period of grandeur and magnificence terminated with the Caliphate of Al-Mamun, the Abbasside Caliph. Then came a period of decadence, interrupted by the splendour of the Ottoman dynasty, which gave lustre to the dynasty rather than to the institution itself.

Following the assassination of Ali, the fourth Caliph, Muawiya, the founder of the Omayyad

THE CALIPHATE

dynasty, had no more a serious rival. Six months later, all opposition to his authority ceased with the renunciation of Al-Hassan. Moawiya could just firmly establish the authority of his dynasty, with its capital at Damascus.

Contrary to the government of the first four Caliphs, the government of the Omayyads took the form of a hereditary monarchy, since each ruler during his own lifetime designated his successor, usually his eldest son. The principle of election was considered to be maintained in that the Caliph procured the consent of his leading subjects to the heir-apparency of his appointee.

The Caliph's function of religious leadership diminished greatly with the rulers of this dynasty, and devolved upon a rising group of men learned in the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet. The Omayyad Caliphs, with a few exceptions, for example, Omar II, had a notorious propensity for despotism. Indeed, they had worked for the glory of the Empire, which they had considerably extended by new conquests in North Africa and in Spain. During this period which extended from A.H. 40 (A.D. 661) to the downfall of the dynasty in A.H. 132 (A.D. 749), Islam was under the supremacy of a ruling class of Arab conquerors. The real spirit which guided the Omayyads was a genuine Arab spirit. The power of this dynasty came to an end partly through personal decline and partly from the development

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

of opposition, especially among partisans of the family of Ali.

With the overthrow of the Omayyads the shrewder politicians of the family which was descended from Al-Abbas, another of the Prophet's uncles, seized the prize of the Caliphate. The Abbassides were Arabs, but their sympathy was with the Persians who had elevated them to the Caliphate. The new Abbasside Caliphs possessed by association with the Persians a large share of Persian governmental ideas. Al-Saffah, the founder of the new dynasty, proclaimed himself Caliph at Kufa. The Caliphate flourished during the period of prosperity of the Abbasside dynasty, a period which lasted from A.H. 132 (A.D. 749) till the end of the Caliphate of Al-Mamun in A.H. 218 (A.D. 833). During this period, the government continued to be hereditary and despotic. The practice of nomination of successors continued with a view to perpetuate the Caliph and his dynasty. The pomp which surrounded the Abbasside Caliphate and which contrasted with the Arab simplicity of the Omayyads clearly displayed the despotic character of the government of the descendants of Al-Saffah. Another difference between the two dynasties is that, as we have already remarked, under the Omayyads, it was the Arab element which dominated. But with the Abbassides, during the period of glory, it was the Persian element

THE CALIPHATE

which became preponderant. The Persians organised the government, and administered its offices. Persia provided its vizirs, governors, scribes, and chamberlains. The Persians were induced to aid the Abbasside dynasty by the chauvinism of the Omayyads and by the Omayyad contempt for the clients, "*Mawali*", who were mainly Persians.

Uniting the religious and political attributions continued to be as in the time of the Omayyads. A reactionary movement in favour of the Islamisation of the Empire arose and made a powerful contrast between the Islamic tendency of the Abbassides and the Arab tendency of the Omayyads. Nevertheless, politics continued to be the principal preoccupation of the dynasty. It did not see in the religion but a means of consolidating its authority and reacting against its adversaries. The Caliph did no more preside at the public prayers or deliver the Friday sermon (*Khutba*) as was the case in the time of the first four Caliphs and some of the Omayyads. The external splendour which surrounded the Abbasside Caliphs recalled the pomp and submissiveness with which the former Persian Emperors, the Sassanides, were served.

This, however, was the great epoch of development of the Muslim Law and of the elaboration of a harmonious and adaptable doctrine. *Qudat* or judges, and *Muftun*, or counsellors, were selected from those versed in the Sacred Law, "*Shar'iah*", to

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

aid the authorities on the side of justice. The legislative process was greatly advanced, but the Caliph had no recognised part in it. In regard to the unity of the Muslim world it was impossible to maintain a rigorous centralising unity in such a vast Empire. Symptoms of weakness which had already manifested themselves in the time of the Omayyads became more marked. In fact, from the dawn of the Abbasside dynasty, the Muslim Empire no longer remained, even nominally, undivided. Spain fell off, and before long an Omayyad Caliph at Cordova was the rival of the Abbasside Caliph at Baghdad. Further, a nationalist tendency bearing the Persian stamp, and directed against the alleged Arab superiority, took the form of a philosophical movement under the name of *Shu'ubiyya*, which grew up and produced a considerable literature to affirm the equality of races. Meanwhile, the vitality of the Empire did not entirely disappear. The early Abbasside Caliphs defended the Muslim world with firmness and valour. During the same epoch a great scientific movement and a tremendous intellectual ferment grew up to a considerable extent.

The period of decadence of the Caliphate as an institution, which followed, was of long duration. The decadence of the institution habitually coincided with the decadence of the ruling dynasty and was a consequence of it (for example, the Abbassides

THE CALIPHATE

after Al-Mamun, either at Baghdad or at Cairo). But sometimes it was also produced at the moment when the reigning dynasty reached the summit of its power. This was the case with the Ottoman Turks, who did not avail themselves of the Caliphate authority but as an honorary title without any serious intention to revive the traditions of the Caliphate. The first period of decadence lasted more than four centuries (from the time of Al-Mo'tasem to the fall of Baghdad, 218-756 A.H.=833-1258 A.D.). The decadence was gradually aggravated. From corrupt and despotic Caliphs, but possessing solid power, we descend to Caliphs who were also corrupt but already much reduced in authority, till, at last, we find Caliphs stripped of power, confined to the palace, while the actual authority was exercised by the chief guards: Turks, Persians, Kurds, etc.

The government during this period continued to be modelled on the type of hereditary and despotic monarchy, but its regular functioning was much paralysed by various factors. The succession was no longer regulated by the will of the preceding Caliph and did not follow even an apparent nomination. The last Abbasside Caliphs at Baghdad were, in fact, invested and deposed by the caprice of the Turkish guard. Despotism during this epoch took a religious aspect and manifested itself by persecution. The Persian influence predominant at the beginning of the Abbasside Caliphate was now

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

replaced, during the period under consideration, by the Turkish influence, with this difference: that the Persians never officially seized the power, with the exception of the Barmakide family.

The religious character of the Caliphate was accentuated during this period. Not because religion gained the upper hand over politics, which always remained predominant, but as a result of the gradual deprivation of the Caliphs from temporal authority; and thus, by means of counter force, the religious element of their prestige increased. As for Law, it became confined to the domain of theoretical speculation; it lost much of its vitality and flexibility. The vast Empire began to crumble; it became more divided and sub-divided. In face of the Abbasside Caliphate at Baghdad, two rival Caliphates, the Fatimides at Cairo and the Omayyads in Spain, were established. Independent dynasties were formed in Persia, at Mossul, in Syria, in Egypt, in North Africa. The whole power of the Caliph suffered eclipse.

In the thirteenth century came the Mongol invasion, a purely destructive visitation from the east, and their destroying hordes swept upon Baghdad in 1258, the last Abbasside Caliph was put to death by Hulaku, the conquering Mongol, and the Caliphate established there perished. For the first time, the Muslim world was left without a Caliph: for three and a half years it remained

THE CALIPHATE

afflicted by this event without precedent in the history of Islam.

From the ruin of Baghdad by the Mongols an uncle of the last Caliph escaped and found a refuge in Egypt, where he was hospitably received by the Mameluk Sultan of the day (in A.D. 1261), and there his descendants lived in state as honoured guests, though devoid of any political power, until 1538. The real power was in the hands of the Mameluks, the Abbasside Caliphs at Cairo being only figure-heads maintained as a state symbol, in order to perpetuate the Caliphate, and their dynasty lasted there until the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Turks. The Muslim Empire was completely torn up; instead of a single central authority, there were at least three principal ones, that of the Mongols in the east, of the Mameluks in the centre, and that of the Berbers in the west. Despite the partition of the Empire, there were some theorists who affirmed the unity of Islam under the supreme authority of the Caliph. These doctrinal affirmations had, however, an echo in practice. For Muslim independent princes demanded their investiture by the Abbasside Caliph at Cairo, whom they regarded as a bestower of lawful authority. The last of these Caliphs was captured by Sultan Selim I of Turkey, after the conquest of Egypt, and was kept in Constantinople from 1517 to 1523. Later he was set free by Sulayman, and was sent back to Cairo,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

where he lived until his death in 1543, continuing to style himself Caliph.

Long before the conquest of Egypt by Selim I the Ottoman Sultans used the title 'Caliph' as regards themselves and were so addressed by other Muslims. It appears also that Selim I and his son, the great Sulayman, avoided apparently with care the use of the word Caliph. Thus it appears as a misconception to assume that the Sultan Selim I bought the title of Caliph from the last Abbasside at Cairo, or had it left to his house by will, so that from about the year 1517 the Ottoman chiefs were both Sultan and Caliph. The first diplomatic document known which applies the words Caliph and Imam to the Ottoman Sultan is the Treaty of Kuchuk Jamarji with Russia in 1744.

The Mameluks of Egypt had been able to offer successful resistance to the Mongolic invasion, but the real restoration of Islam at large after the tide of devastation had receded was the work of the Ottoman Turks, originally a branch of the Oghuz tribe driven forward by the movement of the Moghuls. In the course of the thirteenth century these Othmanlis were able to establish themselves in Asia Minor; in 1358 they crossed into Europe, and in 1453 Constantinople fell into their hands and the Byzantine Empire came to an end. Not long after this the Ottoman Turks were able to secure their position as the leaders of the world of Islam. The

THE CALIPHATE

Turks, however, at the beginning, did not appear to attach great importance to the title of Caliph, the prestige of which was considerably diminished with the decadence of the Abbasside Caliphate at Baghdad. It was only much later, at the time when, in the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire began to decline, that the Turkish Diplomats exalted the title of Caliph, assumed by their sovereigns, in order to give, in front of the eyes of the Occidental powers, a new force to the Empire. The constitution of 1876 proclaimed that the "Sublime Ottoman Sultanate, which possesses the supreme Islamic Caliphate, will appertain to the eldest of the descendants of the House." Sultan Abdul Hamid II made use of this theory to stir up sympathy in many Muslim lands. His Pan-Islamic policy remarkably increased the prestige of the institution of the Caliphate. The Sultan called himself '*Amir al-Mu'minin*' (Commander of the Faithful)—a title abandoned since the Abbasside Caliphate—in order to emphasise the temporal character of his authority as Caliph.

With the Ottoman dynasty, the regime continued to be, as before, a hereditary and despotic monarchy. When the Young Turks' revolution overthrew despotism and established a constitutional regime, it was in conformity with the principle of Islamic Law.

The fact that the Turkish Sultans were the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

protectors of the *Holy Places of Islam* gave them a religious character in the eyes of Muslims. With the Ottoman Caliphate, however, we arrive at the almost complete absorption of the religious attributions. The invasion of the domain of religion by the domain of politics, which began since the origin of the history of the Caliphate, reached here its culminating point.

The Turkish conquests subdued to this warlike people the greatest part of the Muslim world. At the zenith of their power, the Turks extended their authority over Asia Minor, the Balkans and part of Central Europe, over the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, Tripolis, Tunisia and Algeria. Some Muslim countries escaped their domination, especially Persia, India, Central Asia and Morocco. The vast Turkish Empire, however, was not destined to be maintained for a long time, owing to many reasons, but above all because the Turks have adopted in their administration methods of strict centralisation, based on a purely military organisation. The impossibility of the unity of the Muslim world under the ancient form of a centralised empire was once more ascertained. What differentiates the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire from that of the Abbasside Empire is that in the case of the latter, the dislocation was, so to speak, international: the Muslim countries became independent of the government of the Caliphate, without falling under

THE CALIPHATE

the domination of a foreign power. But in the case of the Ottoman Empire, the dislocation has been an external one. There was an anti-Muslim conspiracy among the European Powers as well as a strong inclination to push Islam out of the way where it seemed to interfere with schemes of commercial and economic aggression. Piece by piece, the Turkish Empire has been dismembered and partitioned by the European Powers, dividing among themselves the booty.

It became quite clear in 1922 that the Sultan of Turkey was no more than a tool in the hands of the Allied Powers occupying Constantinople. The Kamalist Government at Ankara deposed the Sultan and this was followed up in October, 1923, by the declaration of a republic in Turkey. The new republic was not yet six months old when a second revolutionary change took place. On 3rd March, 1924, the Caliphate was abolished. Since 1924 the seat of the Caliphate is lying vacant for the second time in the history of Islam.

There was a widespread but totally mistaken idea, in the West, that the Caliph was a kind of Muslim Pope. It has, however, been pointed out that of the powers exercised by the Pope (performing mass, forgiving sins, promulgating dogma, judging finally the dogma and the liturgy, canonising saints, granting indulgences and acting as supreme judge in certain cases) no trace can be found in the Caliphate ;

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

nor was the Caliph ever held to be the depository of divine truth. The sole valid point of comparison lay in the claim, revived from earlier centuries, to the undivided allegiance of a great religious community.

The next step was taken by the Grand National Assembly in the beginning of March 1924, when it abolished the Caliphate and expelled Abdul Majid and all the members of the royal family from Turkey. Abdul Majid was the thirty-eighth Caliph of the Ottoman Dynasty which held the Caliphate from about 1517 down to the year 1924.

When the Assembly adopted a republican form of government they did not at once realise that this would lead them to abolish the Sultanate and the Caliphate, but they were carried along on the strong tide of the new nationalism. The Assembly was animated by a strong desire that Turkey should become a modern, progressive, homogeneous State. The creation of the Assembly invested with both legislative and executive functions robbed the Sultanate of its reason to exist. The "Sublime Porte" had gone out of existence when the Republic was born.

The Caliph then remained, it was said, as a purely spiritual leader—the religious head. The Caliph, however, is no Pope, and there is no place for a Pope in Islam. The Caliphs have not been theologians, nor have they proclaimed new doctrines

THE CALIPHATE

or interpretations of the Sacred Law, '*Shar'iat*': the Caliphs themselves have been subject to the Sacred Law, as all other Muslims are, and the interpretation of that Law pertained to the *Ulema*—the body of men learned in Law. When the temporal power was taken away from the Caliphs they were left without any adequate content for their office—an office without functions.

Al-Mawardi (quoted by Sir Thomas Arnold, *The Caliphate*, p. 72) defines the functions of the Caliph as follows: "The defence and maintenance of religion, the decision of legal disputes, the protection of the territory of Islam, the punishment of wrong-doers, the provision of troops for guarding the frontiers, the waging of war, *jihad*, the collection and organisation of taxes, the payment of salaries and the administration of public funds, the appointment of competent officials, and lastly personal attention to the details of government"—in a word, "the defence of religion and the administration of the State." Al-Mawardi was writing in the eleventh century, but his distinguished contemporary Al-Biruni, recognised "that what was left in the hands of the Abbasside Caliph at that time was only a matter that concerned religion and dogmatic belief, since he was not capable of exercising any authority in the affairs of the world whatsoever."

That was the period of the degradation of the Caliphate, and after the World War the Caliph had

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

again fallen into like degradation. The Caliph had no power, either political or spiritual; he had become a mere figure-head, whose chief functions were to receive visits and to attend the weekly ceremony of the Salamlik and of public prayer.

It was difficult to reconcile this empty existence with the dignity and authority which history and tradition have accorded to the Caliphs of Islam, in the past. Many devout Muslims felt that such a position was not worthy of the religious head of the Muslim world.

The abolition of the Caliphate caused a great deal of excitement in the Muslim world, which was taken quite by surprise at this sudden measure. Protests were made in different countries, notably in India, in Syria and Palestine.

To the telegrams of protest from the Muslim communities of Egypt, India, etc., the Ghazi answered:

“The dream of the centuries cherished by Muslims, that the Caliphate should be an Islamic government including them all, has never proved realisable. It has become rather a cause of dissensions, of anarchy, of the war between the believers. Better apprehended, the interests of all has made clear this truth: that the duty of the Muslims is to arrange distinct governments for themselves. The true bond between them is the conviction that ‘all believers are brethren’.”

THE CALIPHATE

King Husain of Hedjaz made an attempt to appropriate the title of Caliph. However, the speedy loss of his temporal power and his departure from the Holy Cities in 1925 put an end to his dreams.

The deposition and exile from Turkey of the Ottoman Caliph do not in legal theory affect the existence of the office, which theoretically awaits a new incumbent. Indeed some Muslims have maintained that the Turks were but showing proper respect to the office by turning out of it a man and a dynasty unable any longer to fulfil the task of defending the Faithful. Others protested, as already pointed out, the deposition of the "spiritual leader" of Islam. Muslim communities concentrated on the task of finding a new incumbent for the office. A conference was held at Cairo on May 13, 1926, in which the qualities of the Caliph were reaffirmed in a form not unlike that of Al-Mawardi with particular emphasis upon political independence.

The Caliphate was defined by the Congress as "the office of spiritual and temporal chief of the Muslims". A true Caliph, they held, must hold both spiritual and temporal powers.

Ibn Sa'ud's reply to the efforts of the Azhar University of Cairo and the Congress which did convene in May was to call a world Muslim congress at Mecca, for which he chose the pilgrim season of the same year, 1926. Ibn Sa'ud's policy was year by

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

year to discuss Muslim affairs and to review the situation in order to safeguard the future of Islam.

Whatever view may be taken as to the importance of the Caliphate, it cannot be denied that it did constitute a bond of religious and moral unity among the Muslim peoples of the world.

CHAPTER VI

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

ISLAM is not only a faith and a political ideal but also a civilisation composed of the most heterogeneous elements and, nevertheless, possesses a characteristic unity. That religion is the uniting bond of these factors, and that politics and civilisation owe their existence to religion, is unquestionable. What assigns to religion, mainly if not exclusively, the credit of having evolved a uniform Islamic civilisation, is the fact that, with Muslims, religion is an all-powerful factor and, furthermore, the entire historical phenomenon of Islam goes back to its founder, the Prophet.

In the evolution of Islamic civilisation, the determination to rule and the advantages arising from rapid economic development were also important and effective factors. In the unified Near Eastern Islamic State represented by the Omayyad and Abbasside Caliphates there developed upon a Hellenistic basis an integrated civilisation with Arabic and an increasing number of Asiatic traits showing the influence of all the various countries involved. Islam then permeated both State and civilisation, impressing them with a definite idea of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the State and a culture that characterised its future, while in turn it underwent considerable changes as a result of the assimilation of the spiritual heritage of former religions. This occurred as much externally as it did inwardly. Thus, Islam became a combination of a religion and an ideal of a State and of a civilisation, and despite all local peculiarities and political splits it formed a great spiritual unit reaching from the Atlantic Ocean to China.

Islamic culture aims at the cultivation of the entire human race.

The Quran is the inspiration and the cause of all achievements of Islamic culture.

The Prophet encouraged, counselled and ordained the search of science. He commented on this pursuit of science in these terms: "Teach science : he who teaches it fears Allah, he who seeks it adores Allah ; he who spreads it distributes alms, he who possesses it becomes an object of veneration and of benevolence. Science saves from error and sin, it clears the way to paradise. It is our companion in travel, our confidence in the desert, our society in solitude. It guides us in the pleasures and pains of life and serves as an ornament before our friends. It is through it that the Almighty elevates men who are destined to pronounce on what is true and what is good...."

"These profound words of the greater reformer are a probatory and indisputable contradiction to

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

those who seek and exert themselves to put the responsibility of the intellectual degradation of Muslims upon the spirit of the Quran. Let them read and meditate on this great Book: they will find in it, at every passage, a constant attack on idolatry and materialism; they will read that the Prophet incessantly called the attention and the meditation of his people to the splendid marvels, to the mysterious phenomena of creation. The incredulous sceptical and unbelieving might convince themselves that the importance of this Book and its doctrine was not eventually to throw one day the intellectual and moral faculties of a whole people into sterile tranquillity. On the contrary, those who have followed its counsels have been, as we have described in the course of this study, the creators of a civilisation which is astounding to this day.

“These remarks are not idle in an epoch where Islam is presented, from all directions, as the invincible obstacle to the intellectual emancipation of Muslim peoples, and as the great factor of their scientific immobility.”¹

Stanislas Guyard has said: “During the Middle Ages, the history of Mohammedanism is the history of civilisation itself. Thanks to the Muslims, the Greek science and philosophy were

1. Dr. A. Bertherand: *Contribution des Arabes au progrès des Sciences Médicales*, Paris, 1883, p. 6.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

rescued from neglect and came to awaken the West and give rise to the great intellectual movement which terminated in the renovation of Bacon.... In the seventh century of our era, the Old World was in agony. The Arabian conquest infused into it a new blood....Mohammed gave them (the Arabs) the Quran, which was the starting point of a new culture. In order to preserve their Sacred Book from alteration, the Muslims had to create, shortly after the death of the Prophet, the grammar, the lexicography and the exegesis, which, in its turn, gave birth to theology, the sister of philosophy. It was thus that the Muslims, under the reign of the early Abbassides, induced by scientific curiosity, exhumed Aristotle, Plato, Euclid, Archimedes and these were transmitted by the Arabs of Spain to the West." ¹

The Quran is the inspiration and the cause of all achievements of Islamic culture. As Islam took root in east and west it established Arabic as the common language—being the language of the Quran—for the New Muslim Empire. The Arabs brought to the conquered countries their peculiar habits and customs to which they closely adhered. For, in spite of the great facility with which the Arabs borrowed so much of foreign civilisation, they impressed their own national, quite original stamp, on the lands they

1. Stanislas Guyard: *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*, Paris, 1880, Tome IX. p. 501.

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

conquered and ruled. Whilst the brave and gifted, unsophisticated Arabs, aflame with religious exaltation, were by invasion making themselves masters of all the richest civilised countries, their administrative systems both civil and military, soon developed, and became powerful witnesses of their culture and civilisation. They unfolded not only their great adaptive and absorbing capacity, but also their original and creative powers. Their conquests brought the Arabs into contact with the Greek literary tradition, not at first directly, but through the Syrian translations of the Greek writers. "From a new angle and with a fresh vigour," says H. G. Wells, "the Arab mind took up that systematic development of positive knowledge which the Greek had begun and relinquished. It revived the human pursuit of science. If the Greek was the father, then the Arab was the foster-father of the scientific method of dealing with reality, that is to say, by absolute frankness, the utmost simplicity of statement and explanation, exact record, and exhaustive criticism. Through the Arabs it was, and not by the Latin route, that the modern world received that gift of light and power." ✓

"What a noble people were the Arabs," says Beckmann, in his *History of Inventions*. "We are indebted to them for much knowledge and for many inventions of great utility; and we should have still more to thank them for were we fully aware of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the benefits we have derived from them. What a pity that their works should be suffered to molder into dust, without being available! What a shame that those acquainted with this rich language should meet with so little encouragement!.... Had I still twenty years to live, and could hope for an abundant supply of Arabic works, I would learn Arabic." The rapid rise and astonishingly wide dissemination of scientific activity under the Arabs is chiefly traceable to the fact that Greek literature was early and freely translated into the living language of the Quran, which was that of government and daily life and this to their great advantage was made accessible by means of libraries and schools to large numbers of the active-minded middle class.

In the world of Islam it was the conquerors who impressed upon the conquered the stamp of Arabic nationality through their own religion and language, and who exercised a controlling influence upon the assimilated civilisation as well as upon that which had been self-evolved in freedom. In the Christian West, on the contrary, the Germanic conquerors, not having been originally united in the bonds of national sentiment and religion, were compelled to submit to a foreign civilisation, the Latin Christian, which was exclusively in the hands of the clergy.

With Arabic as a medium, scholars in the Far East and in Europe were brought into the centre

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

of a great renaissance, in which they quickly took up with zest the study of a literature that opened up endless vistas before them. Thus we find the movement spreading through Persia, affecting thought in the Near East, gathering new strength in Spain, and influencing life in Europe. This was possible because the Caliphs set the example of broad tolerance and liberality towards those of other faiths.

For a long time it was maintained that the Arabs were mere servile copyists of the Greeks. This is a mistaken opinion. At the time when the Arabs appeared in the Orient, Greek science was in complete decadence, and the practice of magic reigned supreme. Not only did the Arabs save the Greek treasures from the irredeemable loss to which but for them they had been doomed, but they developed the taste for scientific studies, both in the East and in the West, by popularising and commenting upon the Greek works. Had they merely been content with collecting Greek science and transmitting it to Europeans, that would alone have been a great glory to them. But they did better still, for in the arts, as in the sciences, they did original work. The Arabian character very soon asserted itself and all Arabian works showed an originality which distinguishes them from the productions of former civilisations. "The Arabs," says Humboldt, "drove back the barbarism which

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

had already existed in Europe for two centuries.... they went back to the eternal sources of Greek philosophy ; they did not stop at saving the treasures of acquired knowledge ; they increased it and opened up new routes for the study of nature."

After having achieved their conquests the Arabs were quite as active and offered proof of the same qualities in the domain of science as they had shown in the art of war. Adapting themselves rapidly to the teaching of the Greeks, they soon went beyond their masters.

When the Arabs came in contact with the debris of ancient civilisations they showed their aptitude by putting into practice the beautiful precepts of the Prophet, who said to his followers : "Science is the remedy for the infirmities of ignorance, a comforting beacon in the night of injustice. The study of the sciences has the value of fast ; the teaching of them has the value of prayer ; in a noble heart they inspire the highest feelings and they correct and humanise the perverted."

These and other precepts explain the eagerness and the jealous care with which the Muslim rulers protected and encouraged the learned. For them this was a work of piety.

Says Dr. Lucien Leclerc ¹: "Never shall the

1. *Histoire de la Médecine Arabe*, Tome I. pp. 91-92.

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

world see again so marvellous a spectacle as the Arabs afforded during the ninth century. These pastoral people, whom religious enthusiasm had suddenly made masters of half the world, having once founded their empire, immediately set to work to acquire that knowledge of the sciences which was lacking to their greatness. Of all the invaders who competed for the last remains of the Roman Empire they alone pursued such studies, while the Germanic hordes prided themselves upon their brutality and ignorance, took a thousand years to reunite the broken chains of tradition, the Arabs accomplished this in less than a century. They provoked the competition of the conquered Christians—a healthy competition which secured the harmony of the races.” “At the end of the eighth century, their whole scientific possessions consisted of a translation of one medical treatise and some books on alchemy. Before the ninth century had run to its close, the Arabs were in possession of all the sciences of the Greeks; they had produced from their own ranks students of the first order, and they showed from this time an aptitude for the exact sciences, which was lacking in their instructors, whom they henceforward surpassed.”

Between the eighth and twelfth centuries, the hegemony of the philosophical and scientific worlds, as of the world of arms and affairs, lay with Islam, whose sway extended athwart the world from China

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

to the Atlantic. Teeming with intellectual activity, this great stretch of lands had become united not only by a religion but also by a language; the tongue of the Quran was used for the purposes of learning and philosophy, and Islam thus enjoyed an advantage never attained by any civilisation before or since.

The distinctive activities of the Arab mind were already manifest under the Omayyads, though it was during the Abbasside time that it made its best display. History is the beginning and core of all sound philosophy and all great literature, and the first Arab writers of distinction were historians, biographers, and quasi-historical poets. Romantic fiction and the short story followed as a reading public developed, willing to be amused. And as reading ceased to be a special accomplishment and became necessary to every man of affairs and to every youth of breeding, came the systematic growth of an educational system and an educational literature.

At the end of the eighth and the commencement of the ninth centuries, at a time when the Caliphate was at the height of its power and Muslim prosperity assured by a flourishing agriculture, great industrial activity, extended commerce, and an established and highly developed financial system, there began that remarkable intellectual movement which exercised so great an influence upon the history of the world, and which, within a short space of time, introduced among the Arabs an astounding amount both of

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

oriental and occidental culture. That which had its inception in Syria and Mesopotamia through the introduction of Hellenic knowledge, and which was matured in Persia under the Sassanides, achieved under the Muslims, an undreamt of consummation, since they advanced, from an adoption of foreign civilisation, through the stage of complete assimilation to that of original performance.

The tenth century saw Islamic civilisation in its prime and its influence extended over the whole Muslim world. The real rise of Islamic civilisation came to pass only upon the accession to power of the Abbassides. The transition to liberal cosmopolitan tendencies with their sequence of higher forms of economic and intellectual life soon found expression in the transference of the capital to Baghdad which, built upon Mesopotamian soil, embodied the traditions of the ancient oriental world-empire and, as the point of intersection of all the great trade-routes of the Near East, was the natural mart for international traffic. With the glamour of the court upon it, magnetically attracting to itself the population and treasures of two hemispheres, Baghdad grew to be the greatest and most splendid of all cities.

Here sprang into being those mighty impulses whereby the treasures of nature were disclosed and turned to account, new tasks set to industry, and interchange of goods facilitated by the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

improvement and multiplication of means of communication.

The seat of a world-controlling power, the centre of industry and commerce, the scene of boundless luxury and reckless indulgence, Baghdad became also an academy of learning, and in the domain of intellect no less than in that of material culture the exclusive and potent motive underlying the astonishingly fruitful labour whereby foreign civilisation was assimilated was to be found in the determination and ambition of the caliphs. Systematic translation on a large scale, embracing by degrees every branch of knowledge, was not undertaken until the Abbassides supported the undertaking with ample means and interested themselves in obtaining the costly original manuscripts, at times only to be acquired through diplomacy, instituting special commissions of scholars for the carrying out of the work.

Science attracted the attention of Al-Mansur (A.D. 754), who applied himself, among other things, to astronomy. The most splendid memorial was, however, established for himself as patron of art and science by the Caliph Al-Mamun (813-833), who brought together the largest collection of writings and founded a special institution for translating, placing it under the direction of distinguished scholars. And it was, in fact, during his reign that the work of translation attained its

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

height. The presence at Baghdad (whither he had been summoned by the Caliph) of the Nestorian physician, George Bachtichou, was the spark which was to light the fire. As a matter of fact the Nestorians played a very large part in initiating the Arabs into the Greek sciences by giving them the first translations made.* When the intellect of Europe was so clouded by monkish fables that the monasteries were buying milk purporting to come from the breasts of the Blessed Virgin, the Arabs became the saviours of Greek philosophy. Hippocrates and Aristotle and Galen left their homes, and far-stretching caravans of camels brought the parchments to Jundisapur and Baghdad. Aristotle, when his name was unknown in Paris and could not be pronounced at Oxford, was memorised at Nishapur and studied with awe at Samarkand.

Persian and Indian literature was taken into account as well as Greek, the latter, however, forming the bulk, being at first translated from the Assyrian, later, directly from the original. As regards their contents, at first, medical, mathematical, astronomical and geographical works were dealt with, in process of time also those upon philosophy and science. The Arabic translations are even to-day of

* In the fifth century, the persecuted Nestorians, excluded from church and state, devoted themselves to the science of the Greeks condemned by Christendom. They were driven by Byzantine intolerance from their school at Edessa and took refuge in Persian territory where they transmitted Hellenic culture at Jundisapur, where the manuscripts were translated into Arabic.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the greatest value, partly for exegetical reasons, partly because they fill many of the gaps in ancient literature.

Among the great translators of Greek into Arabic should be mentioned Honein ibn Ishaq, who went to Greece and, staying there two years in order to learn the language, returned to Baghdad with a large number of manuscripts. His literary activity was prodigious. He commented upon Hippocrates, translated a large part of Galen's writings, as well as those of Oribasius and Paulus Ægineta and portions of Aristotle and Plato. These translations were made directly from the Greek into Arabic. Honein, whose name was Latinised as Joannitius, may be regarded as the prince of translators. When he finished a treatise, he brought his work to the enlightened Caliph Al-Mamun in whose presence it was carefully weighed, and Honein received for every manuscript translation its weight in gold.

The Arabian passion for Greek manuscripts was so great that the Arab confiscated a copy of Hippocrates or seized a codex of Dioscorides as the prize of victory; Al-Mansur sent messengers to Constantinople for the works of Euklid; Harun al-Rashid, in dictating the terms to the defeated emperor of the Byzantines, specified Greek manuscripts as his most coveted booty.

Another celebrated translator was a Greek, Qusta

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

Ibn Luqa, who knew Arabic quite as well as his own tongue. Later on, the Arabs were able to read the Greek authors in the original, just as they learned Latin and the Castilian tongue in Spain. The Library of the Escorial contains Arab-Greek, Arab-Latin and Arab-Spanish dictionaries compiled by Muslims.

Aristotelian and Platonic writings were read in Baghdad with youthful curiosity of mind, based upon Euklid and Ptolemy, the study of mathematics and astronomy was pursued; Hippocrates and Galen were the teachers at the bed-side.

The genius of the Arab nation, haughty and apt for assimilation, was soon directed towards converting foreign acquisitions by elaboration and purposeful adaptation and development into national possessions.

The transition from mere translation into popular rendering was a rapid one, even textual exposition awakening a more independent line of thought in keeping with the conditions of the time and the national spirit.

Dissemination of knowledge was ensured; the busy traffic which led the would be-learners to the metropolis facilitated acquaintance with new writings and intellectual achievements.

The court in those days was one of brilliant splendour. Men of science and letters, poets, physicians, and philosophers were munificently entertained, and differences of creed were no barrier

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

to royal preferment, for Jews and Christians were equally welcomed to the court.

Good roads, bridges, caravans, inns, fountains, etc., facilitated intercourse throughout the country, the abolition of inland taxes guaranteed emigration and settlement, harbours were provided for the benefit of shipping. The tendency towards travel, stimulated by the great extension of the Islamic dominion, was very widespread. It arose not only from religious impulses (pilgrimage) or commercial interests, but also from pure thirst for knowledge.*

A saying of the Prophet runs: "Whoso leaveth his house to seek wisdom pursueth the path of God until his return". The assurance of finding throughout the extensive dominions, knowledge of the Arabic language, of fellow-feeling and a hospitable reception, made no distance too long where fresh knowledge was to be acquired or where famous teachers were to be heard. "Wanderer in every clime" was an honourable title. This impulse towards travel in search of knowledge was particularly favourable to geography, a subject to which the Arabs made many contributions.

* Thus we find Arabian or Spanish physicians and savants, such as Mohammed ibn Abdoun who came to practise at the Hospital of Fostat in Cairo and then returned to Andalusia, travelling to the East for their information and accomplishment; the two sons of Younus of Harraan who went to study at Baghdad for eight years; Amr ibn Hafs who went to Kairawan to get the Viatique, etc. On the other hand, we find the great physicians of the Orient attracted to Spain by the Muslim sovereigns.

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

The level reached in Baghdad is comparable only with that attained in Andalusia in heterogeneous Spain, where the Arabs had been firmly established since 711. A century behind that of the East, the development of Islamic civilisation on the banks of Guadalquivir ran a course parallel with that upon the Euphrates and Tigris finally to surpass in many respects the achievements of the motherland. Glamorous Baghdad on the Tigris found its counterpart in Cordova in Muslim Spain. "Europe was darkened at sunset, Cordova shone with public lamps; Europe was dirty, Cordova built a thousand baths; Europe was covered with vermin, Cordova changed its undergarments daily; Europe lay in mud, Cordova's streets were paved; Europe's palaces had smoke-holes in the ceiling, Cordova's arabesques were exquisite; Europe's nobility could not sign its name, Cordova's children went to school; Europe's monks could not read the baptismal service, Cordova's teachers created a library of Alexandrian dimensions."¹

The nucleus of such a development of Islamic civilisation throughout the Iberian Peninsula owes its origin to the contemporary of Al-Mansur, the Omayyad Abdur Rahman, who had set up the banner of the independent Western Caliphate in Cordova. Uniting wisdom and leniency with bravery in war, this prince adorned his capital with

1. Victor Robinson: *The Story of Medicine*, p. 164.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

magnificent buildings and strove to invest his kingdom with the glamour of the Abbasside Caliphate.

Following ancestral example, the firm-handed rulers of the Spanish Omayyad dynasty fostered, with highly creditable zeal and far-reaching results, not only the material well-being of the country, but also its intellectual aspirations and its arts and crafts. The reigns of Abdurrahman III (912-961) and Al-Hakam II (961-976) coincided with a veritable golden age wherein Cordova, the town of the Caliphs, became the Baghdad of the West, the centre of the highest culture and the most refined art, the repository of a rich store of books, a centre for scientific research, a school for thousands of eager learners, and was long the most enlightened, best governed and most tolerant city of Europe.

Some conception of the prosperity of Spain under Muslim rule may be gained from the fact that in the tenth century the population of Cordova is computed at about one million. At this period the city is said to have possessed 50 hospitals, 900 public baths, 800 schools, 600 mosques and a library of 600,000 volumes in addition to 70 private libraries. The great mosque of the Omayyad Caliphs of Cordova ranked amongst the largest and most sumptuous of Muslim shrines. Unfortunately, in 1523, the Cathedral Chapter built the cruciform church which now occupies the centre of the ancient

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

mosque. Their action drew from Charles V, in 1526, the famous reproof: "You have built here what you or anyone might have built anywhere else, but you have destroyed what was unique in the world."

In order to give an idea how these Muslim sovereigns protected learned men, we can do no better than quote Louis Viardot¹: "Al-Hakam was the most zealous, generous and enthusiastic protector that letters, sciences and arts had ever known. His father, Abdurrahman, had given him the most learned masters that he could obtain from the Orient, foremost among whom was the famous Ismail ibn Qasim whom the Caliphs of Baghdad were in the habit of consulting.

"In his youth Al-Hakam took upon himself the cost of publishing *Al Ikd Al-Farid* (The Only Necklace) by the celebrated poet of Cordova, Ibn Abd Rabbihi. When he became Caliph he developed an intense interest in human knowledge and did everything for its advancement. In all countries where the Arabian language was spoken (that is to say to the furthest limits of Asia), he sent envoys with copyists whose only business it was to transmit all kinds of writings they could find, and he thus tremendously increased the collection of manuscripts formed by its ancestors.

1. Louis Viardot: "*Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*" 2 vol., Paris, 1833.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

"The great munificence and the unlimited friendliness with which he rewarded merit and the talents of the learned increased twofold the company of the illustrious persons brought together by his father, among whom were highly talented women".

In other large towns, too, from the tenth century onwards a vigorous civilisation sprang up, emanating from Arabs, Berbers, Mozarabs and Jews. It was rendered possible by a peaceful advance of Islam, and up to the thirteenth century it could always command princely support. During that period Muslim Spain became the mentor of European science.

It should not be forgotten that the people also had a large share in the setting on foot of that great intellectual movement. In all the large cities throughout the Muslim Empire the rich paid their weight in gold for translations and vied with one another in the possession of libraries and the rarest works. Out of this movement sprang the great educational centres of Baghdad, Basra, Cairo and Cordova. They developed into great universities the light of which shone far beyond the frontiers of Islam. No distinction of class was allowed, and the nobleman's son studied side by side with the artisan's. Liberal allowances of food were made to poor scholars and tuition was free. Christian students were attracted to these centres of learning and were admitted on an equal footing with

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

Muslims. Muslim scholars scoured the universe for knowledge, and made it available to the whole world. In the twelfth century Spain possessed seventy public libraries and seventeen higher educational establishments, many writers emanating not only from Cordova, but also from Almeria, Murcia, Malaga, Granada and Valencia. An important rôle in the intellectual life of the day was played by the Spanish Jews, who, till the Arab conquest, had languished under the oppression of the Visigoths and had later much increased in number by immigration. Under Muslim rule they enjoyed true toleration and were free to develop their faculties ; indeed, Arabic was a language of common speech and intellectual study for the Jews.

The Arabic civilisation in Spain is also known as the Moorish because a great number of its representatives was derived from the Berbery. The fact must, however, be emphasised that it was the Arabs proper who exercised the greatest intellectual influence. Under the sceptre of the admirable rulers of the house of Omayyad Spain attained a degree of prosperity never again reached, by means of improvements in agriculture, stock-raising, mining, irrigation, etc. and through promotion of trade and industries. Maintaining an active industrial and intellectual connection with the highly developed civilisation of the Eastern caliphate, Moorish Spain enjoyed all its advantages—a happy state somewhat

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

analogous to that of Greece in the old world. Cordova and Baghdad remained united in spirit although civilisation in Andalusia underwent an occidental modification, through conditions of country and race.

The sum total of achievement in this era is enormous; no branch of knowledge was unrepresented in it. A very rich literature, which widely ramified to include every subject, together with a highly developed educational system, ensured the continuity of research and the dissemination of knowledge.*

The success of the Arabs was greatest in mathematics, astronomy and geography, in mechanics and optics, in chemistry and medicine, in botany and mineralogy wherein, by means of new and important discoveries, they surpassed their predecessors. Speaking of the school of Baghdad, Sedillot¹ says: "What especially characterised the Baghdad school at its beginning was the truly scientific spirit which presided over all. To go from the known to the unknown, then from effects to causes, and only

* The immense literature which dealt with all branches of knowledge and arts included, for example, theory of Music, agriculture and horticulture, warfare, trade and various industries; very important too were the numerous encyclopædias, dictionaries and compilations.

1. Sedillot: *Histoire des Arabes*, Paris, 1854.

The Arabs, long before Roger Bacon, were in possession of that method which later on led to so many discoveries, the result of the perfection of physical instruments.

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

to admit as true what has been demonstrated by experimental work; such were the principles taught by the masters. During the ninth century the Arabs were in possession of this fruitful method which, a long time afterwards was to be, in the hands of modern investigators, the instrument of their finest discoveries". Repeated observations and experiments led to great additions to the sum of inherited knowledge, keen analysis and accurate classification enhanced the value of the mass of facts collected with such astonishing assiduity; and the high degree of technical development attained is evidence of the beneficial influence of theory upon practice.

Even in the realm of pure theory one meets with more than one manifestation of the philosophical spirit which inspired the learned men of Islam. When one reads such reflections as those of the Arabian physician Najm-ud-Din to the effect that the existence of the body and its preservation depend exclusively upon the blood and not upon the four humours, as was generally maintained by physicians and philosophers; when we consider the aphorism of the learned Arabian alchemist Geber, that "the various bodies are composed of the same element, but in different proportions", one is tempted to believe that the great Muslim thinkers of this period foresaw many truths that modern discoveries have revealed.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

In a short survey of a subject of such an ample scope it is impossible to describe in detail and comprehensively the Muslim achievements in every domain of science and art. We shall endeavour, however, to give an outline of the outstanding achievements in the main branches of knowledge; and owing to the great influence it had for several centuries upon Europe, we shall dwell, in some detail, on the subject of medical sciences of the Muslims.

— The Arabs introduced the Indian numerical system into mathematics, improved the fundamental arithmetical operations. The Zero was unknown till the twelfth century, when it was invented by an Arab mathematician named Muhammad ibn Musa, who also was the first to use the decimal notation and who gave the digits the value of position. In geometry the Arabs did not add much to Euclid, but algebra is practically their creation, the word itself, algorithm, dating from Al-Khawarazmi's treatise "*Al-Jabr wal-Muqabala*". They developed spherical trigonometry, inventing the sine, tangent and cotangent.

— Their services to astronomy are well-known, scientific terminology is reminiscent of them even to-day. They built several observatories and constructed many astronomical instruments which are still in use. Al-Mamun built a splendid observatory in the province of Baghdad (829)

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

equipped with instruments like those Ptolemy describes in the Porch of the Museum at Alexandria, but larger and better made, with articles more accurately divided and his astronomers were worthy *of the opportunities, for they were good astronomers and proud of making fine instruments. They developed greatly the art of sun-dials and made little portable astrolabes of beautiful workmanship.* Al-Mamun also had an arc of meridian measured, apparently in the plain of Palmyra, to test Ptolemy's estimate of the size of the Earth. Under the Muwahhid Khalif Yakub-al-Mansur (1196) the Giralda of Seville became the chief observatory in Europe.

The Arabs introduced the excellent practice of making regular and, as far as possible, continuous observations of the chief heavenly bodies, as well as the custom of noting the position of known stars at the beginning and end of an eclipse so as to have afterwards an exact record of the times of their occurrence. They calculated the angle of the ecliptic and the precession of the equinoxes. The careful observations of the Arabs soon showed the defects in the Greek astronomical tables, and new tables were, from time to time, issued based on much the same principles as those in the Almajest, but with changes in such numerical data as the relative sizes of the various circles, the positions of the apogees and the inclinations of the planes.

The great astronomer Al-Battani (died in 929)

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

tested many of Ptolemy's results and obtained more accurate values of the ecliptic and of precession. He wrote also a treatise on astronomy which contains improved tables of the sun and moon and includes details of many notable discoveries.

Ibn Yunus (950-1008), although the scene of his activity was in Egypt, falls into line with the astronomers of Baghdad. He compiled the Hakemite tables of planets, and observed at Cairo, in 977 and 978, two solar eclipses which, as being the first recorded with scientific accuracy, were made available in fixing the amount of lunar acceleration. Nasir-ud-Din (1202-1274) drew the Ilkhanic Tables, and determined the constant of precession at 51". He directed an observatory established by Hulagu Khan (1265) at Meraga in Persia, and equipped with a mural quadrant of 12" radius, besides altitude and alzimuth instruments. Ulug Beg (1394-1449), a grandson of Tamerlane, was the illustrious personification of Tartar astronomy. He founded about 1420 a splendid observatory at Samarkand, in which he determined nearly all Ptolemy's stars while the table published by him held the primacy for two centuries. Not only were the skies watched, horoscopes cast, the height of the atmosphere measured, the stars catalogued, but the Arab astronomers spoke a language not heard on earth before; Aldebaran still shines brightly in the heavens, and the Arabic names of Atimuth, Zenith, Nadir, Alphard, Altair, Vega,

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

Betelgeuse, Denebola, and Fomalhaut are permanent parts of nomenclature.

The mechanics of solid and fluid bodies received great attention. Arabic investigators employed extremely sensitive balances,* made use of the pendulum for measuring time and evolved new methods for determining specific gravity (Pycnometer). The huge clock which Harun-al-Rashid sent to Charlemagne as a present, the clock in the Mosque of Damascus, the clock of the Academy of Al-Mustanseriah are evidences of Arab skill in practical mechanics. Arab scientists manufactured locomotive machines, automatic apparatus, water wells, water pipes, etc

In optics they added to the knowledge of the laws of reflection and refraction of light and applied them to the elucidation of astronomical problems (twilight, height of the atmosphere, etc.). Abu Ali al-Hasan ibn al-Haitham (Alhazen) the great physicist (965-1038) excelled in his researches in the science of optics. His writings in his famous book *Thesaurus Opticæ* were prolific and displayed an originality and skill generally superior to Ptolemy. His work was a valuable contribution to natural science. His books were translated into Latin in the thirteenth century and he was recognised in Europe as the chief authority on the subject.

* Ibn al-Haitham (Alhazen) invented the balance.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Based on mathematical and physical knowledge architecture, land-surveying, carpentry, ship-building, pneumatics and gunnery attained a high degree.

The Muslim geographers introduced greater exactness into their sciences by bringing them in touch with mathematics and astronomy. They made valuable discoveries in central Asia and in Africa. An illustrious example of the Islamic explorers who relied upon observation and inquiry is afforded by the geographer Al-Makdisi (tenth century) and Al-Biruni (973-1048) who, in the words of George Sarton, "was one of the very greatest scientists of Islam, and all considered, one of the greatest of all times". ✓

The advances made by the Muslims in Chemistry were most important. Equally important is their establishment of pharmacy. The most ancient Arabic author who wrote about alchemy was a royal personage, Khalid ibn Yazid ibn Moawiya who died A.H. 80 (A.D. 704). The second name to be mentioned is that of Geber. This famous person who became illustrious and legendary in the Christian Middle Ages is known under his Arab name of Abu Musa Jaber ibn Hayyan who lived in the ninth century, and who laid the foundations of modern chemistry. He understood the composition of sulphuric and nitric acids, as well as of aqua regia. He used for external application silver nitrate, sulphate of copper and iron, realgar and numerous

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

metallic oxides. His work on alchemy, entitled the *Summa*, mentions the composition of these bodies. There are twenty-two Arabic works placed under his name in the libraries of the West. Berthelot and Houdas have published five of these treatises under the titles of Book of Royalty, Small Book of Balances, Book of Mercy, extracts from the "Book of Concentration" and Book of Oriental Mercury.

There were several alchemists in the third century A.H.; the two most famous are the ascetic Zun-Nun Al-Misri of Ikhmim (died A.H. 345 = A.D. 859) and Ibn Al-Wahshiyya who wrote during the second half of that century. We may add to these names that of Muhammad ibn Umail al-Tamimi, who composed, among other things, an essay on ancient Egyptian paintings; and that of Othman ibn Suwaid Ikhmimi. To the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.) belongs another important writer, Maslama al-Majriti, *i.e.* of Madrid. This learned encyclopædist, after travelling in the East, brought thence to his native country a collection of the famous works of the "Brethren of Purity", of which he probably made a new recension. Being skilled in alchemy, he wrote especially on this subject a book "*Kanz Al-Fada'il*", Treasury of Accomplishments, dated 348 A.H.

To the Arabs Europe is indebted for its early knowledge of practical chemistry which had its influence upon the pharmacy of a later period.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Our knowledge of potassium nitrate, sulphuric acid, corrosive sublimate, nitric acid, arsenious acid and mercuric chloride, and silver nitrate is due to the Arab workers in the science of chemistry.

Among the Arabs, from the eighth to the twelfth century, pharmacy reached a high state of culture. As early as the year 754 a university was established at Baghdad, and there the first public pharmacy was organised by Al-Mansur, which was followed by the establishment of fully equipped pharmacies which were attached to the various hospitals. Here students were taught the art of pharmacy, and obtained a practical acquaintance with the preparation of medicine under the direction of competent instructors. The Arabs were the first to introduce chemical preparations into pharmacy. By using sugar instead of honey in the composition of potions and syrups they made a great advance. They obtained alcohol—the word itself is Arabic—from distillation. In virtue of their discovery of sugar and alcohol and their application of chemistry to pharmacy it may safely be said that they created the latter important branch of medicine as we know it.

From another point of view also they were creators; for they made pharmacy a speciality, so that the physician no longer compounded his own remedies. The practice of pharmacy became an institution which was placed under governmental

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

control and, in fact, the pharmacists were held responsible for the quality and just prices of all medicines. Ibn-al-Baytar was appointed inspector of pharmacists and herbalists in Egypt.

The Arabian apothecaries were known by the name of "*sandalani*" probably on account of the large dealings they had in sandalwood, which was commonly used in the perfumes, cosmetics, and other preparations of the time. Their shops were identified by coloured jars of liquids or solids placed over or around the entrance, and it is from this custom that the apothecaries of the West of the later period came to employ the carboy of the coloured water, which afterwards became the common symbol of their calling and continued down to modern times.

The Arab apothecaries were divided into two classes, viz., those who sold simple medicines and preparations according to a stated tariff, and the dispensers whose work consisted in scrupulously dispensing the prescriptions of the physicians. According to law, every physician was required to give information against any apothecary who sold impure or unsatisfactory drugs. The Islamic codex, otherwise known as the *Aqrabazin* "*Krabadin*", was divided into two parts. The first comprises compound medicines and these are sometimes arranged in alphabetical order, and sometimes by therapeutical or pharmacological analogies. The second part

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

comprises medicines properly belonging to each organ or part of the body.

The Muslims introduced drugs of milder action in place of the more drastic ones used in earlier times; thus senna, rhubarb, tamarind, musk, cassia and menna, camphor, nutmegs, cloves, saffron, fennel, liquorice, and many other vegetable remedies came into use among the nations of the West. They originated the practice of coating pills with gold or silver leaf, and were the first to distil rose-water. To them Europe owes the introduction of nux vomica in the eleventh century, and many words still used in pharmacy, such as alcohol, alkali, syrup, naphtha, bezoar, jalap, alembic, are as Arabic in origin as Muslin from Mosul and Damasks from Damascus. The Islamic pharmacopoeia contained two hundred new plants, a great many of which are still used at the present time. The Arabs also introduced aconite, amber, Indian hemp, colocynth; and they knew well the effect of ergot.

It is recorded that the Caliph Harun-al-Rashid sent emissaries to Charlemagne in A.D. 807 with presents of balms, unguents, drugs and medicaments in great quantities.

The practice of pharmacy was even organised in the Muslim army, and Afschin, the Commander-in-chief, inspected the military pharmacies to assure himself that all necessary drugs were included. In the time of Abdur-Rahman III, Cordova carried on a

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

large trade in cochineal, ambergris, antimony, sulphur, saffron, ginger and spices from the East brought to the Mediterranean ports, and was the headquarters of many of the great Arabian pharmacists.

In manufactures the Arabs outdid the world in variety and beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. They worked in all the metals—gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, steel and so forth. In textile fabrics they have never been surpassed. They made glass and pottery of the finest quality. They had many processes of dressing leather, and their work was famous throughout Europe. They knew the secret of dyeing, and they manufactured paper. They also excelled in embroidery, forgings, and weaving. They practised farming in a scientific way, and had good systems of irrigation. They knew the value of fertilisers, and adapted their crops to the quality of the ground. They excelled in horticulture knowing how to produce new varieties of fruit and flowers. They introduced into the West many trees and plants from the East, and wrote scientific treatises on farming. They advanced the art of enamelling and, according to recent investigations, they used mixtures resembling gun-powder.

Medicine, amongst the Arabs, occupied a most important position. While the Arabs were raising civilisation to the highest degree, the Greek nation slowly but surely continued towards the most complete decadence. Theological disputes filled all

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

minds and those who did not share the dominant ideas were ruthlessly persecuted. Forgetting the rational principles of Hippocrates and Galen, the Greek physicians sank into empiricism, mysticism and the strangest superstitions. History does not mention a single Greek physician worthy of the name during the entire Islamic period, while the sovereigns of Constantinople were obliged to seek Arabian physicians as their medical advisers. Indeed, it may be said that Greek medicine was non-existent when the Arabs appeared upon the scene and that this state of affairs continued from the 9th to the 14th century. In the person of the Muslim physicians the East was once again the teacher of the West.

The physician was supposed to know, besides medicine, the natures of the articles of food and medicaments, the composition of the body and the movements of the stars; he was expected to learn chemistry and pharmacy and practise his art in accordance with logical, mathematical and scientific principles.

The injunctions laid down by the Quran regarding cleanliness, ritual purification, food, sexual life, etc. constitute a remarkable system of hygiene which the Muslims are bound to follow.

The influence of the precepts of the Prophet is also considerable. By taking hygiene as one of the foundation stones of its moral code, Islam gave a great impetus to the study of this branch of medicine.

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

Unlike some other religions Islam as it were codified the precepts of hygiene and made them binding upon all.

The Prophet says: "Cleanliness is piety" and again "Science is twofold: the science of the body and the science of the soul". The Prophet attached great importance to the care of the body, and enjoined upon the believers the care of their health; he advised the use in certain diseases of drugs or rational remedies; and, in preventive medicine, he indicated that the outbreak of a contagious epidemic was the signal for caution, but leaving the country was forbidden.

The use of baths and ablutions, the prohibition of fermented drinks, the search for paternity, the obligation of marriage in case of seduction—hence the protection of women against the caprice of men—all these ordinances imposed by Islam result in a social hygiene of the first order.

The Prophet said "God has not inflicted diseases upon us without at the same time giving us the remedy". And the Muslims started out on the search for the remedies.

From the point of view of pathology the Muslim physicians made three important advances; they methodically classified the scattered elements of Greek medicine, they created clinical medicine, and they enriched pathology with a knowledge of new diseases. "It appears to us," says Leclerc, "that

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

scientific genius is produced in two ways and is known by two signs, namely, the methodical classification of a number of given facts and secondly, the culture of abstract sciences. The Arabs followed both paths. As to the first, they early undertook the classification of notions of medicines and facts leading to them."

The Arabian physicians wrote works on clinical medicine, such, for example, as the collection of case histories by Muhammad Al-Tamimi, which may be regarded as the first book on the subject. In the clinical study of disease they showed themselves keen observers and their description of symptoms shows a precision and an originality that could only be obtained by a direct study of disease. In diagnosis and prognosis they excelled. The experimental method enabled the Muslim physicians to introduce a large number of new drugs and to determine the exact therapeutic indications of old ones derived from the Greeks and, into the bargain, to find new properties in them. For example, the Greeks regarded opium as very dangerous and rarely employed it. The Arabs developed its indications and regarded it as the specific for pain and they frequently prescribed it.

Modern writers on opotherapy and organotherapy are simply walking in the tracks of the Arabs, for the latter were perfectly familiar with these methods. Credit should also be given to the Islamic

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

physicians who have always given an important place in treatment of hygiene and dietetics.

The study of medicinal substances found in Dioscorides is, in its scientific form, an Islamic creation. It was especially from the thirteenth century onwards that the study of botany was carefully carried out by the Islamic physicians. Their botanists broke away from Greek tradition and travelled in order directly to study nature. Ibn-ul-Suri, a Syrian sage, always took an artist with him in order to make paintings of his specimens. Ibn-ul-Baytar, one of the greatest Arabian botanists, travelled throughout the Orient and Northern Africa for his botanical researches. His best known work is the "*Jamā'ul Mufradat*" or Collection of Simples, in which he treats of foods and simple medicaments derived from the three kingdoms in alphabetical order; it demonstrates his extraordinary observation and erudition, and is the greatest of the Arabian botanical works. This treatise described no fewer than 1400 drugs, of which a large number was then new. The work constituted, in fact, a compendium of the materia medica and dietetics of his period.

Ali Al-Tabari wrote the "Paradise of Wisdom", which acquired significance as one of the first Arabian text-books for practitioners that is not a translation. Yuhanna ibn Masawaih (777—857) wrote "Alterations of the Eye" which is the earliest

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Arabic treatise on ophthalmology that has survived. The Arabs were acquainted with over one hundred diseases of the eye, and their operative technique in ophthalmology was highly advanced.

Ali Abbas was an Arabian physician of the tenth century, the author of the "Maliki", (*Liber regis*) and of a treatise on dietetics, which may be considered a masterpiece of the time. "The Maliki of Ali ibn ul-Abbas", says Leclerc, "marks a great advance in the medicine of the Orient. An Arab dares to do what he could not discover in the ancient Greeks, namely to comprise in a single work the whole field of medicine".

The Canon of Avicenna (rightly Ibn Sina) conceived according to a larger plan included all branches of science, and had a tremendous influence on the fate of medicine in the Orient and among the European nations. The Canon is to the highest degree didactic and this explains the popularity it enjoyed in the faculties of Europe down to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Avicenna (980—1037), Abu Ali Al-Hussain ibn Abdalla ibn Sina, was the most celebrated Muslim physician of the eleventh century, known throughout the Middle Ages as the Prince of physicians, the rival indeed of Galen, and may be said to have been an intellectual prodigy. It is perhaps possible that never before or since has there been so precocious, so facile and so wide an intelligence united with such extended and

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

indefatigable energy. He could repeat the Quran by heart when ten years old, and at twelve he had disputed in law and in logic. He was a practitioner at the age of eighteen; he worked night and day, and could solve problems in his dreams. "When I found a difficulty," he says, "I referred to my notes and prayed to the Creator." He was a voluminous writer, and, as already said, the author of the most famous medical text-book ever written, the Canon (Al-Kanoon). Innumerable manuscripts exist, and there are some thirty Latin editions of this masterpiece. Avicenna was not only a successful writer, but the prototype of the successful physician who was at the same time statesman, teacher, philosopher, poet and literary man. His wonderful description of the origin of mountains fully entitles him to be called the "Father of Geology". Avicenna died in his fifty-eighth year. When he saw that physic was of no avail, resigning himself to the inevitable, he sold his goods, distributed the money to the poor, read the Quran through once every three days, and died in the month of Ramadan. His tomb at Hamadan (Persia) still exists, a simple brickwork building, rectangular in shape and surrounded by an unpretentious court. It was restored in 1877, but is again in need of repair. The tomb of this great Persian is much visited.

Rhazes, whose real name was Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyya was born at Ray and saw the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

light of day in the second half of the ninth century, dying at an advanced age about the year 932 A.D. He was the author of more than 200 writings, his principal medical works are the *Hawi* or *Continens*, the *Mansuri* (Almansoris) and his treatise on eruptive fevers. Book IX of Almansuri was a very favourite mediæval text-book. Rhazes was a man of rare attainments, a tireless writer of immense productiveness and versatility, an inspired teacher, but his also was a more precious gift than erudition, the power to read in the book of nature itself, the clinical insight which ever sees something fresh at the bed-side and assures to each case the comprehension and treatment according to its individuality. Herein, as a clinician, he stands high above Arabian, possibly above all mediæval physicians. A hundred famous physicians contended for the directorship of the hospital of Baghdad, but the favour fell upon Rhazes who developed into the chief clinician of the Arabian school. Pupils,—Andalusian, Mozarab, Persian, Egyptian, Berber, Hebrew, Indian,—voyaged from afar to seek this teacher who had learned to say, "According to my own experience". He was the most skilled practitioner of his time.

To Rhazes we owe the first description of the specific eruptive fevers, namely smallpox, measles, and scarlet fever, and herein the eminent physician is fully revealed. His treatise on the eruptive fevers was translated into Latin, Greek, French, German

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

and English, and it excites admiration afresh in each succeeding generation. Its author was a true path-finder in medicine.

Great strides were made by Islamic medicine in Moorish Spain. Just as occidental Muslim philosophic thought was already imbued with the first breath of that free spirit which was later to sweep over the whole of Western Europe, so did Arabian medicine in Spain manifest a leaning towards scientific research, a notable tendency in favour of open-minded clinical observation, hand in hand with sceptical rejection of unverified tradition. Clinical efficiency was embodied in the family of Ibn Zhur, from which sprang many eminent physicians during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, among them being the most brilliant representative of Islamic medicine in Spain, Abu Marwan Ibn Zhur (Avenzoar) who died in 1162 A.D.

Avenzoar was born in the neighbourhood of Seville and belonged to a highly esteemed family which settled in Spain at the commencement of the tenth century and reckoned among its members statesmen, lawyers and doctors. Avenzoar's grandfather and father attained great fame as physicians. Admirably equipped by nature and carefully educated, Avenzoar soon developed into an excellent practitioner and acquired great celebrity. His attack on Galenism evidently influenced his pupil, Averroes, who pursued his master's policy with important results.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

In his writings, particularly in his *magnus opus* "Al-Teisir" (Alleviation by means of remedies), replete with interesting clinical reports, we see the physician inspired by healthy realism, finding satisfaction in rational practice, full of reverence for his predecessors, but admitting no master save his own observation and judgment based upon independent experience. By his description of the itch mite he may be accounted the first parasitologist.

Averroes (Abul Walid Mohammad ibn Rushd) was born in 1126 at Cordova, where his father and grandfather were judges. Following the tradition of his family he devoted himself to the law but also pursued studies in mathematics, philosophy and medicine. He was Kadi in Seville, later in his native town, and acquired an extraordinary fame. The ruler of Morocco and Andalusia, Al-Mansur, held him in such great esteem on account of his astonishing erudition associated with rare strength of character that in 1196 he appointed him governor of Andalusia. He did not, however, hold this honour long, for his enemies accused him of heresy and succeeded in obtaining his condemnation and banishment. In 1198, Ibn Rushd, on the representation of highly placed friends who demonstrated the injustice of the accusations against him, was recalled and sent by the successor of Al-Mansur to Morocco, where he shortly died. The whole life of this extraordinary man was taken up by the most

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

strenuous exertion—two nights only did he spend without working, that of his wedding day and that following his father's death. His numerous and highly important works dealt with philosophy, philology, jurisprudence, astronomy and medicine. His medical masterpiece the "Colliget" (Al-Kulliyyat), a book of 'the general principles of medicine' possessed in the Middle Ages a high authority. There lay concealed in his system of medicine, based on the neo-Platonic modification of Aristotle, a factor of the greatest moment in the transformation of medical knowledge, which shook to the very foundations the edifice of Galenic medicine. As philosopher he exercised a very potent influence upon the intellectual development of the West, and this influence was exerted chiefly through his celebrated commentaries upon Aristotle, for whom he entertained unbounded admiration. The commentaries, which in the Middle Ages earned for Averroes the honourable title of "The Commentator", were intended to restore the pure original significance of the Aristotelian writings.

The Islamic physicians also beneficially influenced the progress of surgery. The greatest surgeon of the Arab race was Abulcasis (c. 1013—1106) whose real name was Abul Qasim Khalaf ibn Abbas Al-Zahrawi, born at Zahra, near Cordova. He was the medical authority most frequently consulted by surgeons of mediæval times. His great general

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

work upon medicine bears the name of "Al-Tasrif" and is divided into thirty books; it attained a lasting reputation in the West, more especially its surgical section, which became a classic in the mediæval schools of Europe. This is even at present of great historical significance on account of the illustrations of instruments which it contains. The original methods and observations in it afford evidence of the fact that the author was a busy practitioner of surgery, whose endeavour it was to infuse fresh life into this decadent branch of the healing art, and to bring to remembrance and fruition the almost forgotten achievements of the Greek masters.

To Abulcasis, alone among the great Islamic surgeons, belongs the credit of having restored surgery to its former glory. His work was early translated into Latin and by its method and lucidity awakened a prepossession in favour of Arabic literature in general. It constitutes the chief source of our knowledge upon Arabic surgery and many allied subjects.

We may also mention, in passing, the names of Abu Bakr Mohammad ibn Badjah (Avempace), another Arabian philosopher and physician who wrote upon materia medica; Ali ibn Isa and Abu Yakub Ishaq ibn Soleiman Al-Israeli and Ammar ibn Ali Al-Mawsili, who were famous ophthalmologists; Moses ibn Maimon (Maimonides) who wrote famous

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

treatises upon dietetics, hygiene, poisoning and its treatment, and was court physician to Sultan Salah-ud-Din; Ibn Wafid (Abenguefit) who wrote upon simple remedies, afterwards printed some fifty or more times; Ibn Al-Jazzar, the author of an often-mentioned "Itinerary of the Poor". Mention may also be made of Arib ibn Said Al-Khatib who, towards the end of the tenth century, wrote a complete treatise on the generation of the foetus and the treatment of pregnant women and the newly born, and of Abul Hasan Said ibn Hibatullah, court physician to the Caliph Al-Muktadi, who flourished in the second half of the eleventh century and wrote a work entitled "*Maqala fi Khalqil Insan*" (Discourse on the Creation of Man) which deals chiefly with the process of reproduction, gestation, parturition, growth and decay; but the last ten of the fifty chapters into which it is divided deal with psychology.

The process of Evolution from Mineral to Plant, from Plant to Animal and from Animal to Man is clearly recognised and is fully discussed by Dietrici, in the ninth book of his exposition of Arabian Philosophy, as taught by the encyclopædists of Baghdad in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era, entitled "*Der Darwinismus im zehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhundert*" (Leipzig, 1878).

The Islamic physicians did not lose sight of the practical side of medicine. In point of fact it was

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

in medical practice that they most distinguished themselves. The masters trained students in their own ideas, and although attending to private practice, still gave their help to patients in hospitals. The greatest Islamic physicians—Rhazes, Avicenna, Avenzoar and Abulcasis—were all at the head of hospitals.

From the ninth to the fifteenth century the teaching of medicine was very well-organised in the schools of Baghdad, Basra, Damascus, Cairo and Cordova, which were usually connected with a hospital so that theoretical teaching was completed by clinical instruction at the bedside. After a certain time a kind of diploma (*Ijaza*) was given to students as a certificate of complete study. In A.D. 931 an event occurred which shows how much medicine had developed in Baghdad, and also that it gave rise to medico-legal enactments. A patient had died from the carelessness of his physician. The Caliph decided that from that time nobody should practise medicine unless he had been examined by Sinan ibn Thabit, physician-in-chief of the Baghdad hospital.

Gibbon says in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*: "In the city of Baghdad, 860 physicians were licensed to exercise their lucrative profession; in Spain, the life of Catholic princes was entrusted to the skill of the Saracens and the School of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of the healing art."

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

The foundation of hospitals is one of the glories of Islamic civilisation and is proof of the philanthropic spirit actuating the rulers and the nobility of Islam.

As early as 707 the Caliph Al-Walid established infirmaries at Damascus for the blind and for lepers. Harun-al-Rashid established a tradition of his own by attaching a college and a hospital to every mosque. He opened an asylum for the insane; and it is universally admitted that lunatics were treated more humanely and much better in Islamic hospitals than their European fellows in European hospitals. In the tenth century, many hospitals sprang up in the great city of Baghdad and each was placed under the direction of the most famous physicians, while at the same time hospital inspectors were appointed. The head of the hospitals administration was Sinan ibn Thabit. In the twelfth century, the Jewish world-traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, passing through Baghdad, found sixty hospitals, "all well-provided from the King's stores with spices and other necessaries, and every patient who claims assistance is fed at the King's expense until his cure is completed". The Adudi Hospital at Baghdad was built by Adud-ud-Dawla and had a staff of 24 physicians. The Sultan Nureddin built a great hospital at Damascus, which was strictly a charitable institution. Hospital organisation and the work of the sanitary police were very advanced in Egypt. One of the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

most celebrated hospitals of Cairo was the Mansuria hospital built by Sultan Al-Mansur Gilafun in 1283. The description of it by Al-Makrizi reads like that of a twentieth century institution with hospital units. Each category of disease had its particular section, and was attended by a staff of specialists. The large endowment enabled the patients to be kept in every comfort, while the physicians were paid large salaries. Musicians and singers came to entertain convalescent patients. Lastly, when patients who had recovered left the hospital they were given five gold pieces which enabled them to live for some time without having to do any heavy work. It may be added that there was also a special hospital for women.

The influence of this powerful movement of Islamic culture in Spain, described in the foregoing pages, rapidly made itself felt throughout Europe. Petrus Alfonsi (b. 1062) who studied at the Arabian medical schools, came to England from Spain as Physician to King Henri I and, in 1120, collaborated with Walcher, Prior of Malvern, in the production of a translation of Alfonsi's astronomical treatise, based upon Arabian sources. In England their united effort represents the first impact of Arabian learning. Its effect was rapid for, immediately afterwards, Adelard of Bath earned the distinction of being the first prominent European man of science, outside Spain, to come to Toledo and make

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

a special study of Arabian learning. The cultural links thus formed between England and Muslim Spain were destined to produce important results. They stimulated in England the desire for the new philosophical and scientific learning and led to the achievements of Michael Scot (c. 1175—1232) and Roger Bacon (1214?—1294).

Scot proceeded to Toledo in order to gain a knowledge of Arabic and of Arabian philosophy. At Oxford, Roger Bacon achieved brilliant success as an exponent of the new Arabian-Aristotelian philosophy. In the library of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral is a late thirteenth century illuminated manuscript, "*Vetus Logica*," the earliest known commentary on Aristotle's logic produced in England following the Arabian "renaissance" of Aristotelian philosophy. Amongst those scholars who came to Spain from Britain were Robert of England (flourished 1143), first translator of the Quran, Daniel Morley (flourished 1170), etc. Roger Bacon's work "Optics" was based on Alhazen's "*Thesaurus Opticæ*." The alchemical teachings of Jabir ibn Hayyan (Geber) and other Arabian writers, are apparent in the works of Albert Magnus, Vincent of Beauvais, etc.

One of the greatest minds of the Middle Ages was Gerbert of Aurillac (930—1003) who afterwards became the head of Christendom under the name of Pope Sylvester II (999). He crossed the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Pyrenees to go to Toledo to obtain from the Muslims knowledge which was lacking in Gothic Europe. After his return to France he spread the scientific and medical knowledge he had acquired in Spain, and taught at Rheims with great success. It may be said of him that he prepared the religious, literary and scientific Renaissance of the eleventh century. He transported Islamic science into Germany and France and finally into Italy when he became Pope. He is said to have given Europe the present Arabic numerals. Gerbert and Constantine the African (1010—1087), were but the forerunners of the great translators. The true period of the Latin translations began in the twelfth century with Archbishop Raymond. It was not by the Crusades as is generally supposed, but through Spain, Sicily and Italy, that Islamic science penetrated Europe. In 1130 a college of translators was established at Toledo, which was in Spanish hands at this time, and under the patronage of Archbishop Raymond it commenced Latin translations of the most celebrated Islamic writers. The success of these translations was considerable, and opened up a new world to Western Europe, and during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries this was not relinquished.

The most active and prolific translator was Gerard of Cremona (1114—1187). He made over seventy-one translations, twenty-one of which were medical works. Among them we may mention the

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

Canon of Avicenna, the Surgery of Abulcasis, the Mansuri of Rhazes and some fragments from the Continens. He also translated into Latin such Greek writers as Galèn, Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle and Euclid, who had been translated by the Islamic physicians into Arabic. It is largely owing to such translations that teachings of the ancient authors, whose original works are lost, have been preserved. Not only did Europe derive its science from the Arabs but it also obtained a greater and more intimate knowledge of Greek science from them.

As already pointed out, one of the sources through which Islamic learning passed into Europe was Italy. The most striking intellectual phenomenon of the thirteenth century in Europe was the rise of the universities. The earliest European institution to develop an organisation that can be called a university was the medical school at Salerno, an ancient sea-port in Southern Italy not far from Naples. It was at Salerno that Islamic medical sciences had found their way mainly through the work of the famous Constantine the African. It would not be out of place, in this connection, to allude to the political and cultural influence of Islam upon Southern Europe.

During the eighth and ninth centuries Islam was establishing its hold on Southern Europe. The same movement that carried the Crescent across the Straits of Gibraltar threw it also into Sicily. The

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

attacks by the Saracens on that Island in the eighth century were gradually extended to the mainland in the ninth. In 827, Ziyadat-Allah, the Emir of Kairawan, began the systematic conquest of Sicily. In 846, the arms of the Crescent were carried to Rome itself and the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul were taken. Toronto fell in 840 and all along the coast of the heel and toe of Italy and up to Salerno, Naples and beyond, the Arab power made itself felt and even established colonies. Towards the end of the ninth century the Saracens began to settle in some of the southern Italian states, which were torn by internal disunion. Into this welter of futile and static archaism of monastic prejudice came the stimulus of Muslim energy and enterprise. The cultural influence of the Arabs became strongly felt and the school of Salerno became progressively Arabicised in its high period. Out of the Arabic cultural influence together with Greek, Latin and Hebrew influences at Salerno emerges the first university in Europe into the light of historical day. The cultural influence of the Arabs was also profound in nearby Sicily in the Norman period, as we know from a picture of a chronicle of the early thirteenth century, representing the sick-bed of the Norman King, Wilhelm II, who, like his shrewd predecessors and his Hohenstaufen successors, fostered Islamic culture in his realm. We see by the bedside of the dying monarch (1189) the

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

Arabian physician Hashim.

In other universities of Europe the dominance of the Muslims was striking. In 1467, special lectures were given on "Almansori of Rhazes". Still more striking evidence of their influence is found in the text-book of Ferrari, which was printed in 1471 and had been circulated earlier in manuscripts. In it Avicenna is quoted more than 3000 times, Rhazes and Galen 1000, Hippocrates only 140 times.

In the Paris faculty, the records of which are the most complete in Europe, there is an inventory for the year 1395 which gives a list of twelve volumes nearly all by Muslim authors. Louis XV, always worried about his health, was anxious to have in his library the works of Rhazes. The only copy available was in the library of the medical school. The manuscript was lent, but on excellent security.

It is said that one of the special advantages that Montpellier had possessed over Paris was its possession of many important manuscripts of Islamic writers.

In a recent study made by the "Madrid School of Spanish Arabists", (a school which is concerned with the study of Islamic civilisation in Spain and of its influences on Christian civilisation in the Iberian Peninsula as well as in the rest of Europe), Julian Ribera demonstrates that many of the institutions of Christian Spain were nothing but a copy, or an

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

imitation of similar institutions of Muslim Spain. He discovered Arabic sources for the doctrines of certain thinkers and certain poetic forms of songs of the Middle Ages, and for the mediæval Andalusian music of songs of the troubadours, trouveres and minnesingers. Don Miguel Asin Palacios, in studying the origins of philosophy in Spain, traces the influence of such Arabian thinkers, as Avempace, Averroes, Abenarabi, Abenmasarra, and others. He, also, establishes the point that one should seek the key of the Divine Comedy of Dante in the Islamic legends of the nocturnal voyage of Muhammad. It is further shown that historiographers, mathematicians and lexicologists, etc., owe much to their Muslim predecessors of Spain. It is regrettable that the present Civil War has interrupted the activities, already fruitful, of this school of Arabists. There was also at Granada, a parallel school of Arabic Studies with course of philosophy, civilisation and institutions of Islam, geography of Islamic countries, Arab art and archaeology, etc.

"The Arabians," says Osler in his *Evolution of Modern Medicine* "lit a brilliant torch from Grecian lamps and from the eighth to the eleventh centuries the profession reached among them a position of dignity and importance to which it is hard to find a parallel in history."

The Arabs, after almost eight centuries of occupation in Spain left behind them, as Claude

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

Farrère said, that sublime relic, the palace of Alhambra, which made the coming centuries dream for a long time of this vanished civilisation, in the same way that they left in liberated Toledo precious manuscripts, the translation of which was to stimulate human thought for many centuries.

Emmanuel Deutsch says: "By the aid of the Quran the Arabs conquered a world greater than that of Alexander the Great, greater than that of Rome, and in as many tens of years as the latter had wanted hundreds to accomplish her conquests; by the aid of which they, alone of all the Semites, came to Europe as Kings, whither the Phœnicians had come as tradesmen, and the Jews as fugitives or captives. They came to Europe to hold up the light to Humanity, they alone, while darkness lay around, to raise up the wisdom and knowledge of Hellas from the dead, to teach philosophy, medicine, astronomy and the golden art of song to the West as well as to the East, to stand at the cradle of modern science, and to cause us late epigoni for ever to weep over the day when Granada fell."

Max Neuburger says: "Islamic civilisation which in its prime surpassed that of ancient Rome in animation and variety, and all its predecessors in comprehensiveness, lasted until the commencement of the eleventh century. In the West the fall of Cordova (1236) set the seal to its fate: in the East the Mongol invasion terminated the rule of the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Abbasides in Baghdad (1258). Nevertheless for centuries after this golden age the achievements of Moorish Spain were by no means inconsiderable, much being accomplished also in Egypt, of which country the Mongols stopped short, whilst even under the rule of the Seljuks and Mamlukes intellectual aspirations were by no means wholly quenched, and even in the present day may be traced the impress which the Arabic epoch left upon the evolution of mankind."

CHAPTER VII

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

WE have already mentioned that Islam, as a religion, spread with remarkable rapidity after the *Hijra* of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina. This expansion was due to religious zeal of the ardent and powerfully united followers of the Faith. Proselytism was peacefully affected and conversions were born of real religious conviction. It was also natural that the political ascendancy of Medina implied an additional and potent stimulus to the expansion of the Faith. The triumph of the religious doctrine inspired the various tribes throughout Arabia, and mass conversions with allegiance to the Prophet took place in times of peace at Medina. If henceforward the watchword was subjection to the Prophet—even if it were of a political nature—it was necessarily identical with conversion to the religion of Allah, since the Prophet was His Vicegerent on earth. The consolidation of the Muslim community gave a strong impetus to the diffusion of Islam in the growing Muslim State. The new political structure upset the Arab tribal units. Prior to Islam the rivalries and contentions of the Arabs had for their subjects clan-feeling and

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

pedigree, but with Islam the Arabs formed one society. They became all united under one banner, with one title, Islam.

What followed upon the death of the Prophet was in a sense as miraculous as the original triumph of the Faith. Picture to yourself the small Arab army that had started out in the year in which the Prophet died, to conquer the world. Not as a result of a long process of dessication in the Arabian Peninsula; not because of drought and lack of pasture; not in terms of great migrations of peoples did the Arabs set out to build their world empire. Religious enthusiasm was the driving force. The principle of unity, which is both the nucleus and the aim of the Islamic faith and polity, absolute oneness of the Creator, national unity of the Arabs, unity of Administration : religious, civil, judicial and military,—all incorporated in one principal system—was a most potent factor in uniting the Arabs. They set forth to spread and defend the faith. They betook themselves to conquest and their rising tide could not be stemmed.^{*}

Even before Islam had crossed the frontiers of Arabia, out of a religious, an essentially political movement had come into being. But so long as Islam was confined to Arabia, the members of the New State accepted its religion. This position

^{*} Cf. Mohammed Abdallah Enan : *Mawaqif Hasimah fi Tarikh Al-Islam* (Decisive Events in the History of Islam) Cairo, 1929. pp. 10—16.

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

altered as this young State subjugated Western Asia and North Africa. Then sharply and clearly the expansion of Islam as a State separates itself from that of Islam as a religion. For, as C.H. Becker pointed out, the old fairy tale that Arabs imposed their religion on Western Asia with the sword—this staple argument of Christian polemics—need not any longer be discussed or refuted.

It would be also erroneous to assume that, in the expansion of Islam, the driving force was economic. "For centuries before the coming of Mohammed, the Prophet of Allah, the Arabs had been the poor, proud, hard-living and hard-fighting men of the desert and its oases that they are to-day. If economic causes and desire for material domination had been their main incentives to war and conquest there was as much reason for their outbreak, and apparently many better chances of their success, before than after the advent of Mohammed."¹

The amazing success and dazzling achievements of the Arabs in war and policy are explained by the combination of the Islamic system which unified the nation, the inspiring and immeasurable influence of the Quran, the will-to-power of a young consolidated State led by eminent men who had unbounded confidence in their cause, and the conditions in the Persian and Byzantine empires,

1. H. M. Hyndman: *The Awakening of Asia*, p. 10.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

which practically invited conquest. In Persia, Christians and Jews were subject to persecutions and extortions, while, under Byzantine rule, the subject races of Syria, Palestine and Egypt were under a cross fire of exactions and oppressions. The advancing Arabs met an organised Roman force, but they encountered people everywhere chaffing under Byzantine misrule. The Constantinople government was decadent, inefficient and corrupt. The monasteries were a crying scandal, the clergy were themselves corrupt, and they sided with the heads of a decaying empire against the poor and the oppressed. The schism between the Eastern Churches and Rome, the hair-splitting controversies over creeds and dogma, made men sigh for a simpler faith; and when Islam appeared it found a prepared soil for the seed of the Quran, a people discontented and ready to seize any chance to bring about a change of government. It was no wonder that in many cases they made common cause with the invaders against their Greek rulers, who to them were more foreign than the Arabs. In fact, people hailed the Arabs as their liberators from a detested rule.

Islam in proclaiming the unity and greatness of God was putting forth an idea that grew in the minds of men into a profound conviction. The simplicity of its rational theology appealed to them as an immense relief from the complexity of

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

mediæval Christian teaching with its complicated creeds, priestly offices, image and saint worship.

The thirty years' reign of the first four Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman and Ali, was later looked upon as the golden age of Islam during which it enjoyed the blessings of a single unified government. It marked the first stage of the expansion of the Arab-Islamic State: Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Irak and Persia were conquered. Islamic union, religious fervour, Bedouin pride, Arabian chivalry, all of these being united and harmonising with each other at one time, produced a series of miracles. With astonishing rapidity the Arabs subdued the greater part of the civilised world. Indeed so far did they advance that they planted their standards on the banks of the Ganges in the east and on the shores of the Atlantic in the west. It was a marvellous procession of victory.

The Quran had commanded that "There is no compulsion in religion"—which was scrupulously obeyed throughout the time of the men who proclaimed the law of Islam to the world. Everywhere were the subject races allowed freedom of worship. They were free to pursue their normal activities; only politically were they placed under the sovereignty of the Arab-Islamic State. Believers in scriptural religions—the Christians and Jews—who submitted to the conquering Arabs were given protection, sanctioned by Charters, and retained

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

freedom to exercise their religion upon payment of tribute. At an early date the concept of privileged religions based upon Scriptures was extended beyond Judaism and Christianity to include the important beliefs with which Islam came in contact. Only the extinct Arab paganism was excluded, for Islam cannot tolerate paganism or polytheism.

A Christian observer ¹ has recently expressed the opinion that "Religious tolerance does not necessarily mean tolerance of all kinds of religions, as Mohammed's example shows. Primitive religions, such as those of the Navajos, are not on a par with advanced religions, such as those most current in civilised communities to-day. Tolerance toward advanced religion is quite compatible with intolerance toward inferior and primitive religions, by whose elimination the people would themselves benefit."

By paying poll-tax, the *Zimmis*, or non-Muslims under Muslim rule, obtained security for their lives, their honour, and their property. Treaties were made with these tolerated communities at the beginning of Islam, and Quran emphasised that they be well treated. In the first Muslim State religious liberty for non-Muslims was not a mere concession which could be revoked at will by the rulers but a solemnly guaranteed right secured by Charters and sanctioned by the commandments of the Quran.

1. Homer H. Dubs in *The Christian Century*, January 2, 1935.

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

"In their wars of conquest," says E. Alexander Powell, "the Muslims exhibited a degree of toleration which puts many Christian nations to shame."¹ Compare the aspects of the Roman rule with those of the Arab domination in the conquered countries. The Roman government was a callous autocracy, its tax-system was almost plunder, its policy was extortion and oppression, the toiling peasantry suffered at the hands of the Romans, although they were Christians and they were exposed to lawless degradation. The idea of war held by the rulers was torture and blood. Contrast that policy with the policy of the Arabs. In the instructions which the pious Caliphs gave to the generals as they set forth to spread the supremacy of Islam and to the administrators of the conquered lands, the injunction to deal gently with the inhabitants, to forbear from molesting the harmless votaries, to spare the weaker sex, the children and the aged, to abstain from demolishing the dwellings of the unresisting inhabitants, and even from the mutilation and destruction of any fruit tree that was necessary to the sustenance of men and animals, was urged and obeyed. Do not these axioms serve as an example and lesson to the present war-lords in Europe? The Caliph Omar, the great organiser of the first Arab State, likewise directed even that some of the money and food due to the poor from public revenues be given to non-Muslims.

1. *The Struggle for Power in Moslem Asia*, p. 48.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

The religious policy of the Muslim conquerors was based upon scrupulous observation of the Quran and the Tradition; they established freedom of beliefs, toleration, just dealing, moderate taxation, orderly government, protection and security for the vanquished. No wonder, then, that the subject peoples did not simply acquiesce but even hailed the coming of the Muslims and, later, turned over to the new Faith in millions.

G.D.H. Cole and M.I. Cole write that "the fact that so much of our mediæval history is derived from writers of the Christian Church who were bitterly hostile to Islam has hidden from the ordinary reader the fact that Moslem rule was neither oppressive nor unenlightened....Further, the Moslems were friends to learning—it was not Moselms, but monks, who burnt the great Greek library at Alexandria—and during the period of their rule the Spaniards were in touch with all the culture of Moslem countries as far east as Persia and India."¹ Under the Omayyads, the second stage of Arab-Islamic expansion was entered upon. Armenia, Transoxania, Afghanistan, the Indus Area and Middle Asia were subdued in the east and North Africa and Spain in the west. As a result large areas of the Christian world came under Islamic rule. Their Islamisation and that of other conquered territories did not, however, keep pace with their subjugation.

1. *The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe To-day*, (1933), p. 31.

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

Islamic conquest took, at the beginning of Islam, the form of a military occupation. During the Omayyad period the nationalist Arab factor tended to outweigh the universal religious factor. The Arabs desired to maintain themselves as an upper class with special economic privileges above the non-Muslim masses. The tribute (*Jizya*) paid by the *Zimmi* and the '*kharaj*', a tax on the conquered lands left in possession of their former owners, became the chief source of income of the State treasury. Pensions were paid from it to the fighting Muslims and their families. The spread of the Islamic religion within the Arab-Islamic empire signified the growth of the ruling class, and a corresponding decrease in the number of the tax-paying subjects, for the payment of tribute ceased with the acceptance of Islam. This was not to the material interest of the government of the Caliphate. Nevertheless, the ruling class could not but exert an ever-increasing attraction for the vanquished could rise to its level and merely by accepting Islam insure for themselves considerable economic and social advantages and pass over to the circle of the rulers. Social distinction between them would, consequently, be no longer possible or conceivable. To forbid conversion was to contradict the spirit of Islam, which is universal and shuts its door against none. Ultimately the principle of the universal religion overcame the national principle of the State. During the closing

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

period of the Omayyad Empire an endeavour was made to reconcile increasing Islamisation with State principle and policy, partly by means of a reform of taxation which gradually reduced the economic incentive to conversion.

During the first century of the rule of the Abbaside dynasty the social differentiation based upon nationality vanished entirely. The Arabs intermarried freely with the conquered peoples, and entered into closer contact and economic competition with them. With the completion of social levelling the Arabic language and with it the Islamic religion spread at a faster rate. Animated by religious zeal, these rulers could proceed on the basis of social equality, and thus act towards the subject races in a very different spirit from that of the Omayyad rulers, who only accepted them in their midst with reluctance. In the Abbaside period fusion and assimilation becoming complete, Islamisation went on at a very rapid rate. The expansion of the religion was doubtless due to religious conviction—just as it was in the early days of the rise of Islam.

Already in the third and fourth centuries of the Hijra (the Muslim era) the expansion of Islam had attained the extent shown by the present day Orient.

After a century of brilliant splendour the Abbaside Empire began to disintegrate through

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

weakening of the centralised government. Later, the re-organisation of the Islamic State was the work of the Seljuke dynasty. This was, however, not of a long duration, for the Mongol invasion from the east led to the decline and fall of the Seljuke states in Asia Minor. Upon the ruins of these, the Ottoman Turkish state developed.

Another great Islamic Empire in the east was that of the Moghuls in India, which experienced a period of great splendour during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; then declined steadily. Meanwhile the Ottoman Turks continued their triumphant spread in Europe and Asia, and with them Islam expanded all over the Balkan peninsula. This expansion which carried the Turkish armies as far to the west as Vienna ultimately stopped when the Turks made their last attack on that city in 1683 and were defeated. From the seventeenth century onwards the political strength of the Ottoman Empire gradually declined.

But although Islam as a State-Empire was losing, it was, as a religion, steadily extending beyond its political boundaries. The spread of the Faith within and without the Islamic State took place as a rule peacefully and naturally, for conversions by force and persecutions are contrary to the spirit of Islam. The same factors account for the peaceful expansion of Islam as for its strong hold over those whom it has once proselytised. Chief

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

among the inherent qualities of Islam which have aided its successful expansion are the rationalist nature of its dogma, of the unity of God and of His relation to the Prophet Muhammad, the definite religious obligations and the tolerant attitude towards the earlier revealed religions. Further, it insured a rise to a higher social and cultural status. The pious life of its believers and the virtues attendant upon it made a profound impression upon non-Muslims.

It has often been assumed by Western historians that the spread of Islam in the West during the initial Arab conquests as well as during the Ottoman conquests should be viewed as a danger to European civilisation. But this is an erroneous conception which must be dispelled. Such a prevalent misconception is evident even in the works of modern historians like H. A. L. Fisher who writes:

“ It is a commonplace of history to remark that the Saracen expansion in Europe was ultimately checked by the victory won by the Frankish sovereign, Charles Martel, over the great army of the Viceroy Abdur-Rahman on the field of Poitiers in 732. The victory of the Christian army was complete and decisive. But in the scale of importance the victory of Poitiers does not rank with the successful repulse by Leo the Isaurian of the formidable Saracen attacks on Constantinople in 717 and

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

718, not only because Constantinople was closer to the centre of Muslim power and therefore more likely, if taken, to be retained, but also because the Saracens once established in the Byzantine capital would have found among the rude and imperfect Christians of Eastern Europe a free field for Muslim propaganda. If the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in the fifteenth century spread the Muslim creed far and wide through the Balkan peninsula, we may imagine the success which would have attended a Saracenic conquest 700 years earlier, at a time when the peoples of Russia and the Balkans had received but a faint initial tincture of Christianity, and were still in a rude disorder of institutions and beliefs . . . Had Leo the Isaurian failed to beat off the imposing Armada of Moslemah, the Muslim faith might have spread like a prairie fire through the Balkans and the plain of Hungary and northwards and eastwards to the Urals. From this danger the great defence of Constantinople in 718, conducted by a young and capable Emperor, with the aid of stout fortifications, a superior navy, Greek fire, and the timely assistance of a regular army, delivered European civilisation.”¹

But to this assertion we would point out that it is not a mere speculation to pretend that had the early Saracenic conquest of Byzantium succeeded and had Russia been then converted to Islam, Bolshevism,

1. *A History of Europe*, Vol. I, 1935, pp., 143-144.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

which is the malignant growth which endangers the existence of European civilisation today, would have not appeared on Russian soil, for, once a people have become Muslim, they never abandon their faith. Even Turkey, which today has severed the connection of its State with Islam has banned communism and does not tolerate any Bolshevik propaganda in its territories, under the severest measures of punishment. Nay, the Turks of today, descendants of the very Turks whose invasion of Europe was regarded as a danger to European civilisation, pretend, as one of their foremost publicists has recently written,¹ to be defenders of European civilisation, situated as they are, at the very gates of Asia.

Already in 1894, O. Houdas, the shrewd French scholar and judicious critic of Islam wrote about its expansion the following words:

"Never has a religion developed with a parallel rapidity. In less than half a century Islam spread from the banks of the Indus to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, and, if this movement slowed down it still persists after thirteen centuries of existence. After having penetrated in India, in China and Malaya, Islam continues its invading march in the African Continent which will before long become entirely Muslim. Without special missionaries, and without resort to the force of arms which it employed at the beginning, the religion of

1. Burhan Belge in "*La Turquie Kamaliste* ", February, 1937..

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

Mohammad has converted the Black Continent, and it is not without some astonishment to point out the existence in England and in America of small white communities which, at Liverpool, Manchester and New York have adopted the Islamic doctrines and made efforts to propagate them. This invasion of Europe, hardly visible today, will surely grow."¹

At the beginning of the present century, an English observer, T. R. Threlfall wrote: "Islam is making marvellous progress in the interior of Africa. It is crushing paganism out. Against it the Christian propaganda is a myth . . . "²

And a Portuguese missionary has recently written that "Africa is being progressively invaded by Mohammadanism, the religion which renders souls most sterile to the seed of the Gospel. It is advancing from the north, which is almost wholly subject to its domination. This process has been going on since the noble church of Augustine and Tertullian exchanged spiritual vitality for specious theology and casuistic philosophy . . . If Christian missionary enterprise does not see the urgent need of raising an effective barrier to stem the Mohammadan torrent which for centuries has been flooding Africa it will dominate the entire continent."³

1. In "*La Grande Encyclopædie*," Tome 20 (article : Islamisme).
2. *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1900.
3. Eduardo Moreira in *World Dominion*, January, 1935.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Commenting on the potent advance of Islam, a Christian missionary, W. Wilson Cash writes :

"Islam endowed its people with a dignity peculiarly its own. It implants a pride of religion in the heart of the believer, and it inspires all with a passionate loyalty to the faith and a deep devotion to the Prophet. When Muslims meet pagans they carry with them the prestige of a great religion, a conquering faith and a simple yet effective organization. The pagan immediately adopts an attitude of respect towards the Muslim Direct access to God makes one of the strong appeals of Islam, and in the pagan world it wins a ready response because it is often what the pagan feels he most needs.

The prestige of the Muslim trader or settler is at once transferred to the convert who, by a quick imitation, creates an impression of superiority over his fellow-tribesmen. The desire to rise in the world is innate in human nature, and many African chiefs have become Muslim to enhance their power and prestige in the eyes of their people The Muslim missionary is not as a rule the paid agent of a foreign race. The Muslim, with all his sense of superiority, has no race complex."¹

Today over half of the total population of Africa is Muslim. Islam has proved everywhere in Africa to be a consolidating force.

In Europe today there are some eight million

1. *The Expansion of Islam*, pp. 177-179.

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

Muslims, including those in Russia and Turkey in Europe. In common with the Muslim peoples of the East the Muslims of Europe are awakening and are developing a sense of solidarity with the remainder of the Muslim world, as well as amongst themselves. A remarkable evidence of their awakening has been the first Muslim Conference of Europe, held at Geneva in September, 1935. This Congress was attended by seventy representatives of Muslim communities, societies and organisations in Europe. Several facts point to a bright future for Islam in Europe: almost all the principal capitals of Europe have their Muslim societies and clubs. Some capitals (London, Paris, Berlin) have their mosques, while new mosques are planned for other capitals such as Warsaw, Budapest and Vienna. Further a number of Muslim papers and periodicals appear in some of the large cities on the continent. A more broad-minded and tolerant policy is being pursued by some European governments towards the Muslim minorities in their countries. In the present Yougoslavian government there are two Muslim ministers while the government of Finland has officially recognised Islam among other religions in the country, for there is a small Muslim community which came to live there after the outbreak of the Russian revolution.

The most advanced and powerful of these Muslim communities are the Muslims of Yougoslavia, numbering about 1,750,000 in a total population

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

of about fifteen millions. Almost four-fifths of the total number of Muslims are Yougoslavs, the remainder are of Turkish and Albanian origin. The Yougoslav Muslims live mainly in Bosnia and Herzegovina and constitute an autochthonal element, purely national, possessing all the ethnic and national characteristics of Yougoslavs. They actively participate in all the intellectual manifestations of the Yougoslav people. Muslim women share in all branches of State administration and of education. There are Muslim women employed as teachers, professors, physicians, tribunal and postal officials, etc. At the opera of Belgrade, the first singing actress was a Muslim lady of Mustar, Bakria Nouri-Hadjitch. The Yougoslav Muslims publish a number of cultural and religious reviews as well as some dailies. Prominent among their cultural organisations is the "Gajret" society, founded in 1903, which has developed into a tremendous national Muslim movement, developing and moulding the intellectual life of the Muslims in Yougoslavia.

In 1930 the Muslim community was thoroughly organised and an official administration for all Yougoslav Muslims was founded. Today all government and civil professions are open to Muslims and they are represented in all administrations and professions.

There are indications of awakening among Yougoslav Muslims who keep in contact with the

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

wider world of Islam through educational missions to Al-Azhar University in Egypt, through pilgrimage to Mecca, active participation in Islamic congresses, etc.

Turning to Poland we find there a Muslim minority of about 12,000 having their chief settlements in the northern part of the country. Many of them are descendants of the Tartars who conquered Poland in the fourteenth century. Since then they settled in Poland and Lithuania. A great number of them are soldiers and during the Polish war of independence they largely contributed to the ultimate victory. Many of them hold positions in the government, the army, and in civil professions. Their Mufti has recently toured the Muslim east to obtain aid for the erection of the planned mosque at Warsaw.

There are also Muslim communities in Western Europe, especially in England (some 30,000) and in France (some 200,000), where there are Muslim organisations, mosques, etc.

Besides the important Muslim minorities in the Balkan States, there are small communities in Hungary, in Finland, and in other countries of Central Europe.*

Again in America there are important Muslim colonies, and Islam is making slow but steady progress in Japan.

* For details about Muslims in Europe see special number of *Muslim Review*, December, 1935.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Of late, Muslim missionary effort organised in India, Egypt, and the Malaya has been intensified with regard to proselytising the untouchables in India and of propagating Islam in the Far East and in other parts of the world.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

THE marvellous vigour of Islam has impressed men's minds ever since the far-off days when its pristine fervour bore its all-victorious banner from France to China. But with the passing cycles of time this fervour waned, and, during the eighteenth century Islam seemed plunged in the stupor of decadence. With the decline of the Muslim Empire, the learned men, the *Ulema*, sought knowledge only in a limited area of Islam as they conceived it—not the world-wide liberating and light-giving religion of the Quran and the Prophet, but an Islam as narrow and hidebound as religion always is when it admits the shadow of a man between man's mind and God. Islam, the religion of free thought, the religion which once banished priestly superstition and enslavement of men's minds to other men for ever from the lands to which it came, had become priest-ridden.

Islam enjoined on its followers the "duty of acquiring knowledge unceasingly from the cradle to the very grave" and the Prophet said that "The merit of knowledge was superior to that of devotion". But these injunctions were neglected in the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

centuries of decadence of Islamic culture. The ignorance and backwardness of Muslims in the face of these important injunctions in the Shari'at Law was, therefore, an indelible shame. The pursuit of natural science had already been abandoned. A growth of false pride accompanied the cult of ignorance. The outcome of this deterioration was the low state of education prevalent in Muslim countries, and especially among women. This was one of the chief causes of the backward state of Islamic civilisation in latter times.*

As the famous French Arabist Paul Casanova remarked :

"Since the Arab civilisation was extinguished, under the Ottoman invasion, at the same epoch when the Renaissance passed from Italy to France, and then radiated in all Europe: since primitive Islam grew heavy under the yoke of a narrow, intolerant and pretentious orthodoxy, we imagine the brain of the modern Arabs as being different from ours, we believe the Muslims incapable of assimilation of our thought, and we forget the marvellous word of their Prophet which was the luminous light-house of their first civilisation: 'science is superior to the faith! (the quality of science is superior to the quality of faith)—see

* For a detailed discussion of the causes of backwardness of Muslims in latter times see the interesting essay of Emir Chekib Arslan "*Limaza ta 'akh 'khara al-Muslimun*" (Why did Muslims decline?), Arabic, Cairo, 1930.

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

Prairies of Gold by Al Mas'udi, Vol. IV. p. 109). "What chief of religion, what great preacher has ever dared to pronounce such a daring word which is today the credo of our intellectual world, while the time is not far off when it would have appeared as a blasphemy to the great mass of cultivated minds? And who, in Europe, at the time of Mohammed, had ever conceived the possibility of such a monstrosity!" In this manner therefore the sound axiom of liberty of thought, which leaves far behind it the boldest propositions of a Luther or a Calvin had been enunciated by an Arab of the seventh century of our era, the founder of Islam which so many of us pretend to be irremediably backward. No, you will see that the taste of science and of intellectual speculations in all domains, that the love of Greek thought and the admiration of its works, that the acute curiosity for the things of nature and the sharp desire to raise the veil which covered them, were the true characteristics of the Arab soul. This prodigious Arab people whom we had surpassed during the last three or four centuries were nevertheless the great educator of modern thought before the Renaissance."¹

But it came about that the Ulema who ought to have been the guardians of the true tradition and teaching of Islam gradually confined their whole

1. Op.cit. "L'Enseignement de l'Arabe au Collège de France, Leçon d'ouverture," April 26, 1909.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

attention to the minor details of the religious ritual. It was a serious departure from the principles of the Sacred Law.

The Muslim countries, then, cultivated a reactionary conservatism and an intolerant fanaticism contrary to the spirit of the Muslim Faith. The centres of Arabic learning maintained a mediæval scholasticism of an extreme character. To this was added a mass of senseless superstition : The great masses of the lower classes were veiled in ignorance and in consequence resented all innovations.

The Muslim society became deformed and corrupted through a hierarchy of pseudo-priesthood and superstitious practices which indicated a deviation from the living and pristine faith in the teachings of Islam.

The resignation of Islam does not counsel acquiescence in the state that happens to exist ; fatalism forms no part of the religious doctrine. The masses, however, were possessed, as a result of ignorance and presumably also as a late result of political subjugation, by a spirit of acquiescence which had become sufficiently prevalent as to ensure general stagnation. This became one of the chief causes which hindered the progress of Muslim countries in matters of economics.

The Christian nations had advanced materially just as the Muslims had advanced materially so long as they obeyed the injunctions of the Sacred

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

Law which proclaims freedom of thought and exhorts the pursuit of knowledge and the study of God's creation. The Christians threw off the narrow shackles of ecclesiasticism and scholasticism, and their advance in the material field was as surprising in its way as had been the conquests—material and spiritual—of the early Muslims.

Another weakness from which Islam suffered in its history was the malignant influence of "autocracy" as could be judged by its effects on Islam. A good benevolent autocrat may be able to advance the interests of the community in religion and politics, but it was impossible to ensure equally worthy "successions". The advent of autocracy (with its attendant despotism) at the head of Islam did, therefore, much harm at a period just before the Crusades. The atmosphere of corruption that the autocrat created was a drag on the growth of Islam.

The division of Islamic countries among contending autocratic despots who engaged in fratricidal wars in which the religious faith was exploited for ulterior motives, contributed to the decline of Islam.

The lethargy verging upon ignorance which weighed upon the Muslim countries throughout the centuries of decadence had been also partly a result of historical circumstances, especially after the Crusades. For a long time the Muslim East seemed to be sunk in deep gloom, stunted in

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

intellectual outlook and sterile in literary and artistic achievements.

Another important factor which contributed to the decline of the Muslims was the growth of a false sense of superiority and security, based historically on the dazzling conquests and intellectual achievements of Islam, and causing Muslims to ignore or view with disdain the new discoveries and technique of the Western world.

The Muslims in their decline had very little in common with the early Muslims; they disobeyed the laws of their faith and neglected to follow the example of their Prophet. The more the Muslims followed the commands and the laws of their religion, the more they prospered and advanced intellectually, politically, socially and morally.

The ascendancy of the West over the East dates from the seventeenth century and the West was ruled by the East for one thousand years morally, socially and politically.

Since the Muslims neglected to adhere closely to their religion, they lost their heroic spirit and gave up striving; they neglected the education of their sons, and more so of their daughters. They did not keep up that progress and culture which their ancestors, under the impetus of the Quran and the noble example of the Prophet, had achieved. The ignorant masses were governed by despotic, apathetic rulers, selfish and self-seeking statesmen,

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

and insubordinate generals who dominated their political destiny. The weakening of the sense of solidarity and unity of the Muslim peoples was increasingly felt.

We have already mentioned that the Mongol invasion was another serious blow to Muslim culture. The hosts of Genkiz Khan, in their terrific inroad, destroyed the most important centres of learning and with them, the learned men. This happened at a time when the eastern boundaries of the Muslim Empire were but lightly guarded, the forces of the Turkish rulers having been drawn westward by the constant menace of the Crusaders. Once the frontiers were passed there was practically none to oppose the powerful invaders. Then it was seen that another command, which is implicit in the Shari'at Law, had been forgotten or neglected : that every Muslim must have military training. So strongly was that point impressed upon the public mind that it became the chief point of the law in public opinion thenceforward till the remnant of the Muslim Empire was partitioned by the Imperialist Powers of Europe.

The Crusades interfered with the growth of Islam, and later the discovery of the East Trade route to India, and the route to America with the attending factors of the grab for gold by the Western nations, together with the rise of industrialism, and the ocean transport finally eclipsed the world of Islam.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Throughout the eighteenth century the Muslim world was sunk in lethargy and the nineteenth century saw the Muslim States fall, one by one, before the assailing Western Powers. Islam was cut off from internal and external stimulation and was suddenly knocked into a state of chaos. The responsible factors for the chaos were largely bound up in the impact of the West upon East.

Yet lethargy and stagnation are not Islamic principles: they were mainly political and economic principles. And so there have been outbreaks of vigorous activity and religious reform, which showed quite clearly that there was very real life of Islam beneath the surface. The movement of reform claimed to restore the earlier conditions of Islam, for it assumed that the primitive form of religion was the purest and best and that the aim should be to return to this and get rid of later "accretions and corruptions."

In the eighth century of the Hijra (A.D. 13th century) Ibn Taymiya was the outspoken opponent of these corruptions. Five centuries passed before his work bore real fruit. In the course of the eighteenth century Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab, a native of Najd, was influenced by the study of his teaching and books. Like his master he made a constant attempt to restore the primitive rigour of Islam, to eradicate vice and to abolish innovations contrary to the original Islam. It was about the

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

year 1740 that Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab began his campaign for the reformation of Islam. His soul was stirred by signs of laxities and superstitions among Muslims. Islam was in danger, and the faith must be purged and purified if the glory of Islam were to return once more. In order to restore Islam to the golden age of the Prophet and his Companions, he preached the return to the sources of the revelation: the Quran and the Sunna (Tradition). This puritan reformer who founded Wahhabism did everything to restore the austere simplicity of the early Islam. The Wahhabi movement has been virtually the clinical sign of a resuscitation of modern Islam. We cannot, owing to considerations of space, give a detailed narration of the growth of this movement. Suffice to mention that it grew in Arabia until, under the Saud dynasty, which succeeded Muhammed ibn Abdul-Wahhab, the Wahhabi State was successfully established in Najd and later, after a series of successful campaigns Ibn Saud (the present king of Arabia) conquered Hijaz and extended his authority over inland Arabia.

The Wahhabi movement spread beyond the frontiers of Arabia and gave rise to similar movements, inspired by it, in India, central Africa and in the Malaya. Even the famous Sanussi movement owes its beginnings to Wahhabi inspiration.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

In the course of the nineteenth century other reform movements appeared in the Muslim world. In India a liberal movement was initiated by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan of Delhi in the mid-nineteenth century. He was a whole-hearted advocate of modern education, and his efforts resulted in the establishment of the Muslim University at Aligarh where students receive a thoroughly modern education, but are, at the same time, trained on definitely Muslim lines as far as relates to religious teaching. In theological matters Sir Sayyid Ahmad showed a liberal and modernist attitude. Modernism had to undertake the task of bringing the thought and life of Muslim peoples into harmony with the present age and to reconcile Islamic learning and tradition with the new ideas and modern science.

Since the death of Sir Sayyid his work has been carried on by the Mawlawi Chiragh Ali and then by Sayyid Amir Ali who has expressed the later attitude of the rationalists in his well-known book *The Spirit of Islam*. A later development of this movement combining rationalism and liberalism had its representatives in S. Khuda Bukhsh and his *Essays, Indian and Islamic*. In connection with this movement the work of Hakim Ajmal Haziqul-Mulk of Delhi must be mentioned. He devoted himself to training graduates of the college at Aligarh and sending them out as preachers to spread a reformed

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

Muslim teaching embodying a strictly Quranic theology, amongst young men of the educated classes.

In present-day Muslim India the most important reformist-modernist figure is undoubtedly Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the well-known philosopher-poet of India, whose ideas and works have deeply inspired a school of young religious reformists and political thinkers in India. One of his outstanding achievements is his most interesting work on "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam"* in which the learned reformer, to use his own words, "tried to meet, even though partially, this urgent demand for a scientific form of religious knowledge, by attempting to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge." To give a proper idea of the value of this work of Sir Muhammad, we can do no better than quote the following passage from a review of it by a distinguished Western scholar **, especially because it alludes to Western-Islamic relationships:

"Sir Mohammad Iqbal is not as well known, except for a small *élite*, in the Western world as he deserves to be . . . Mohammad Iqbal may not be a

* *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Lahore, 1930, and Oxford.

** Martin Sprengling in *Christendom*, Chicago, Autumn, 1936, p. 919.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

historian, but he is a theological and religious philosopher of the very first excellence, a diamond mine of extraordinary quality. Since he is a Muslim, this is not as easy for the West to recognise, as in the case of the more abstruse and obscure Tagore, the no less keen but far more odd Ghandi. The West has been discovering thinkers to its fancy, speakers to its meetings, men publicised with Hollywood press agent adjectives with a religious, philosophical, political, quasi-scientific turn, in India, China, Japan. Here is something more exquisite and astonishing for the West to discover, a truly modern Muslim, the equal, to say the least, of the finest in the West in every noticeable respect.

"It were a pity to take from any Western reader the joy of discovering for himself by summing up this man for him. No man in the Christian world deserves to be called modern, up-to-date—or choose your own adjective—who has not yet discovered Mohammad Iqbal, and no book of Sir Mohammad's is better adapted to making his acquaintance than this."

Turning to Turkey we refer to another reform movement associated with the revolution of 1908. Abdul-Hamid's reign culminated in that revolution. The "Young Turk" Party preached the brotherhood and equality of all the subjects of the Sultan. One of the prominent leaders of the "Committee of Union and Progress" was the reformer and statesman Prince

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

Said Halim Pasha, His advice on reform was not *Auropalashmaq* (Europeanise) but *Islamlashmaq* (Islamise).

He had in mind an independent Muslim country which still retained some of the prestige of the historic Muslim Empire, and was still the seat of the Caliphate. Like the great majority of the Committee of Union and Progress he was an advocate of the Caliphate. His aim was, first and foremost, to depict the true Islamic State in modern terms, and to contrast it with the existing forms of government. He sought to translate the theory of Islamic government, as it existed in the time of the first four Caliphs into modern terminology. Soon, however, entirely different influences became apparent. Pan-Turanian ideas appeared with the aim of creating a new national Turkish culture. The apostle of these ideas was Ziya Gök Alp.

Most prominent among the nineteenth century reformers was, however, the famous Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani who profoundly influenced the reform movements in various parts of the Islamic world and especially in Egypt where he spent the years 1871 to 1879 and where his most brilliant disciple was the famous Muhammad Abduh, the Grand Mufti of Egypt who died in 1905.

The activities of this remarkable man encompassed practically all the lands of Islam and also those European countries, the governments of which

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

are involved in the affairs of Muslim peoples. Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, India, all, at one time or another, experienced, his potent contact and were affected by it.

The chief aim of Jamal-ud-Din in all his untiring efforts and ceaseless agitation, was the accomplishment of the unification of all Muslim peoples under one Islamic government, over which the one supreme Caliph should bear undisputed rule, as in the glorious days of Islam before its power had been dissipated in endless dissensions and divisions, and the Muslim lands had lapsed into ignorance and helplessness to become the preys of Western aggression. He believed that if these Muslim countries were once freed from the incubus of foreign domination or interference, and Islam itself reformed and adapted to the demands of present-day conditions, the Muslim peoples would be able to work out for themselves a new and glorious order of affairs, without imitation of or dependence on European nations. To him, the religion of Islam was in all its essentials, a world religion, and thoroughly capable, by reason of its spiritual force, of adaptation to the changing conditions of life. To him political revolution seemed the quick and sure way of securing for the Islamic peoples the freedom necessary to enable them to set their own house in order. Thus his contact with Egyptian affairs is described by an Egyptian historian

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

in these terms:¹ "With the arrival of Jamal-ud-Din (in Egypt) a movement of ideas was formed: on the one hand, to limit foreign interference and personal government—two connected facts—there had been an endeavour to prepare the minds for the institution of a national and liberal régime, as the only remedy for the evils from which the country suffered. . . . On the other hand, there was a striving for a reform of the social condition of the masses by means of a right interpretation of the things pertaining to the religion, the spirit of which had been distorted by superstitions, traditions, and theological subtleties—legacies of centuries of ignorance. It was hoped, at the same time, to preserve the religion, adapted to the progress of the attacks of occidentalism." The movement led to a genuine awakening which has expressed itself, not only in a religious reform, but also in an intellectual and literary revival, and in political developments which have given evidence of a growing spirit of nationalism. The reforming impulses and liberalising tendencies which have been set in motion since the beginning of the present century have operated in many directions and have accomplished systematic success. Jamal-ud-Din was the great exponent of pan-Islamism.

The reformist and modernist movement in Egypt has taken a definite form during the last

1. Muhammed Sabry: *La Genèse de l'Esprit National en Egypte*, p. 227.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

quarter of the nineteenth century, under the leadership of Muhammad Abduh. It constituted an attempt to free religion from the shackles of a too rigid orthodoxy, and to accomplish reforms which will render it adaptable to the complex demands of modern life. Muhammad Abduh perpetuated in Egypt the spirit and ideals of his master Jamal-ud-Din. The reform impulse thus developed in Egypt by Muhammad Abduh has persisted until the present day and has made itself felt in many directions. His ideas have received a wide and sympathetic hearing among the educated classes of Egypt and other Muslim countries.*

Of all the pupils and disciples of Muhammad Abduh, Muhammad Rasheed Ridha (a Syrian by nationality) was the leading pupil and, since Abduh's death, the one who principally carried on his tradition and interpreted his doctrines and the founder of the famous *Al-Manar* review, as the mouth-piece for the propagation of Abduh's doctrines and the accomplishment of his reforms. Rasheed Ridha died in 1935. A school of modernists developed and counted among its members men like Qassim Amin, Farid Wajdi, Ali Abdul Razik, the author of the famous book *Islam and the Fundamentals of Authority*, etc. The very existence

* For an exhaustive study of the lives and works of Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani and Muhammed Abduh and their reformist movements see Charles Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, London, 1934.

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

of the modernist school in Egypt derives in a vital and fundamental sense from Muhammad Abduh and his doctrines.

Again the influence of Jamal-ud-Din was felt in distant parts of the Islamic world, as for example, in Russia, where arose in the latter half of the nineteenth century the famous reformer, Ismail Gasprinski, editor of the newspaper *Terdjuman* (at Baghgeserai in the Crimea) who proposed to assemble a universal Islamic congress to discuss questions of general importance for the reformation of Islam.*

Coming to the present situation we find that Islam is confronted with a crisis which has been variously interpreted by Muslim thinkers and by Western observers. Thus Sir Mohammad Iqbal writes :

“It is only the superficial observer of the modern world of Islam who thinks that the present crisis in the world of Islam is wholly due to the working of alien forces . . .

The question whether a person to be a member of Islam is, from the Muslim point of view, a purely legal question and must be decided in view of the structural principles of Islam. As long as a person is loyal to the two basic principles of Islam, *i.e.* the Unity of God and Finality of the Holy Prophet, not

* See Gerhard v. Mende: Ismail Bey Gasprinski in *Ost-Europa*, October, 1934

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

even the strictest Mullah can turn him outside the pale of Islam even though his interpretations of the Law or the text of the Quran are believed to be erroneous.* Islam has had too much of renunciation ; it is time for Muslims to look to realities. Materialism is a bad weapon against religion ; but it is quite an effective one against mulla-craft and sufi-craft which deliberately mystify the people with a view to exploit their ignorance and credulity. The spirit of Islam is not afraid with its contact with matter. Indeed the Quran says : 'Forget not thy share in the world'. It is difficult for a non-Muslim to understand that, considering the history of the Muslim world during the last few centuries, the progress of a materialist outlook is only a form of self-realization."¹

On the other hand a European observer in Egypt has recently described his impression of the anxious soul of present-day Egypt :² He writes in speaking of the problems facing Egyptian youth and the present anxiety :

"With eager rapidity young Egypt is learning from Europe, anxious to become as advanced in modern achievements as the West. At the same time there exists, especially among the younger men,

* Turkey, therefore, to all intents and purposes, is still a Muslim country.

1. *Islam and Ahmadism*, Lahore, 1936, pp. 34-36.

2. Rom Landau : 'The Egyptian Student' in *The Spectator*, March 26, 1937.

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

an exaggerated nationalism which often takes the form of antagonism to everything foreign. Deplorable as such nationalism may be, it is comprehensible enough in hot-blooded young people eager to see their country independent after hundreds of years of foreign domination. . .

"The problem of the Egyptian student is almost identical with that of the modern Egyptian soul. Both are going through a period of transition. In both of them there are the eagerness and the impatience, the conceit and the sensitiveness of youth. Spiritual and material, religious and national, elements are so intimately interwoven that no solution can be expected from any one set of reforms. . . . If ever the politicians of Egypt depended upon the active collaboration of the religious and intellectual leaders of the country, it is at the present moment. For no impartial observer believes that the problem of Egyptian youth can be solved without a profound spiritual reformation which will affect not only the young people themselves, but equally their leaders and politicians."

Knowing the fact that the foundations for Islamic evolution can only be and has always been religion, it becomes evident that such a spiritual reformation of which this critic speaks can only be effected through a proper administration of religious teaching to the youth of modern Islam.

Another European scholar and critic has

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

written almost a decade ago that it is startling to see how Islam in a few decades will make up for a development of Christendom during centuries, often in astonishingly similar ways and means, in which perhaps once more the kinship of origin and essence of the two religions may be revealed.”¹

The growth of nationalism in Muslim countries at present should be viewed as a defensive reaction against the domination and aggression of the West and as a consequence of the concept that for a free evolution of Islam complete emancipation—political, economical and social—from the West is absolutely necessary. Therefore it is natural for the Islamic countries at their present stage of evolution to see in nationalism a source of strength and power. However, once liberation is achieved, this transitory phase of nationalism will cede its place to the international ordering of the Islamic society which, in fact, is that of a league of nations, established on a spiritual foundation. The Muslims cannot squander their great heritage of spiritual culture in the attempt to imitate the existing phase of European nationalism which is being embodied in the culture of its different countries. The detrimental effects of the present extreme form of nationalism are too obvious to be stressed.

But even then, despite this present nationalism

1. Richard Hartmann : *Die Krisis des Islam*, Leipzig, 1928.

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

of Muslim countries, Islam is certainly more homogeneous and has more cultural unity, at present, than Europe. In a large section of Islam, (the Arab East) there is a single great written and spoken language which embodies a very rich literary and philosophical tradition and it is accessible to all educated people all over the world of Islam. This is the Arabic language,—the common spoken and written language, the *lingua franca* for some 60 or 70 millions from Morocco to the Persian Gulf.

It is easily the fourth most important language in the world at present. It is also the religious language for the whole Muslim world. In Europe, on the other hand, Latin, which in mediæval times was common to all European scholars, is confined to relatively few, and as for spoken languages there is very little prospect of a single *lingua franca* for Europe. Nationalistic propaganda, emphasising linguistic distinctions, makes its development highly improbable for a long time to come.

In other ways the difference between various parts of Europe, *e.g.*, in the structure of society and political ideals, are very much greater than between different parts of Islam. Islam is far more a unity, especially in its social and cultural characteristics and institutions than is Europe as a whole.

It would be erroneous to assume that the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

intellectual classes in Muslim society today as well as the upper classes, owing to the Westernisation process which is going on, are drifting away from or are indifferent to religion.

A single evidence to the contrary may be here cited, namely, in Egypt, where this Westernisation is associated with a great religious revival. The weekly periodical *Arrissalah*, which is the foremost literary organ portraying the tendencies of modern Arabic thought and culture in Egypt and the other Arab countries, publishes every year a special number in commemoration of the new Muslim year (the *Hijra*). On such an occasion, the leaders of thought including writers of the modernist school and the intellectual *élite* make such contributions on Islamic problems as prove their sense of devotion to the person of the Prophet Muhammad and to the Quran as well as to the fundamental teachings of Islam.

It must be clearly recognised that the apparent compromising of the reformist religious movement with the penetrating national ideology which is at present a strong factor in the evolution of Islamic countries, is to be understood in terms of a passing phase, as we have already shown. This, therefore, does not contradict a pure religious renovation of Islam. There are at present in Islamic countries separate efforts towards a reform of religious traditions but all recognise the necessity of loyalty to the

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

Quran and the Tradition of the Prophet. Of course there is no question of a religious reformation on the basis of autonomous churches as was the case in the West. For in Islam there is no Church which may be termed autonomous. Islam, in the present, as well as in the future, will not oppose the further political and cultural development of Muslim countries, but will be the inspirer of it. In other words, the religious character will pervade and be identified with the political, cultural and social developments. Furthermore, the religious tie, which is the profoundest and most powerful tie among Muslim peoples in spite of racial, linguistic and ethnic differences, will persist as the principle of the social evolution of Islam.

Thereby religious convictions will gain additional forces in the individuals as well as in the community as a whole.

CHAPTER IX

ISLAM AND THE WEST

THE powerful and triumphant march of Islam since its rise in the seventh century soon brought it into contact and clash with Christianity. Ever since, the relationships between the two religions came to mean those of the East and West. The contest between East and West was represented by the struggle between the forces of Islam and those of Christianity. This struggle, which continued for many centuries, was not confined to war of swords, but also consisted in controversy and polemics since the early days of Islam. But whereas Islam prevented Muslims from degrading the person of Christ, whom the Quran recognizes as a Prophet, Christians abused Muhammad, and that was often indulged in a most aggressive and abhorrent way. The Church fostered calumnies and vilifications which infused a fanatical rage and hatred against Islam and the Muslims in the minds of Christian peoples.

The motley hosts who went forth under the banners of the Crusaders formed a further manifestation of the hostility and bitter animosity of the Christian Church to Islam. The emotional

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

appeals of Peter the Hermit, which caused multitudes of peasants to follow the hoof-prints of his mule; the preaching of Pope Urban that Christ's Sepulchre must be recovered from the "infidel"; the assurance of Bernard of Clairvaux that whoever slays a Muslim is certain of Paradise; the desire of Penitents to wash out their sins in the blood of 'heretics'; the chivalry of knights which made it necessary for them to kill; the demand of nobles for new territory; the ambition of merchants for the rich markets of the East; the lure of adventure; pestilence and famine—these were among the factors, which again launched the West against the East.

The Crusades meant an intensification and embitterment of the conflict. But the hostile attitude of the West to Islam persisted for centuries after the Crusades.

"One must ask," writes Gustav Diercks, "why should such a long time elapse until the Arabs were done justice and their activity deservedly appreciated? That was to be found in the inextinguishable hatred which the Christians had against their adversaries from the earliest times onwards. That accounted also for the continuous striving which was made to obliterate, as much as possible, the influence of the Spanish Arabs and to deny them the services which they rendered to humanity. We know how barbarously the Christian Church, from the

ISLAM AND THE WEST

early times of its existence, proceeded against the Greek-Roman paganism. We shall see that it raged out more dreadfully against the art and literary treasures of the Arabs, once she had the upper hand. Sometimes barbarisms were attributed to the hated adversaries, which the Christians themselves committed. I mention the fire of the Alexandrian library at Serapium, which was attributed to Amr', the general of the Caliph Omar, whose character and behaviour repel the possibility of such a barbarism...

"Discoveries and inventions were attributed to Christians which were made by Arabs centuries before. Where that was not possible, one tried to deny and belittle the influence; and even this did not happen in the Dark and Middle Ages alone. The exaggerated religious aversion to Islam and all that belongs to it has been inherited until recent times, and we find traces and consequences even in the works of our days. How could it be conceived when in a Spanish history of literature, as that by Tickner, a deep silence is observed about the Moors and their influence upon Spanish literature, and when nearly only one mention is made of them, and this in order to deny what other scholars attribute to them...

"Centuries had to elapse before the spirit of inquiry broke religious hatred, put Arab culture in the true light, and removed the innumerable

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

impediments which rendered its study difficult.”¹

One is all the more surprised at this persistent hostile attitude of the Church when one considers the fact of the friendly attitude of the early Muslims towards Christians. For they rejoiced over the triumph of Christianity over Magianism when the armies of Heracules won a great victory over the armies of Chosroes in Persia in 625. In spite of controversial discussions between Muslims and Christians the friendly ties continued to be fostered between them throughout the Prophet's life-time. Christianity was viewed as having preceded and prepared the way for Islam. The kindly feeling of Muslims towards Christians was inspired by the Quran which says : (S. 5, v. 85) :

“Strongest among men in enmity to the Believers wilt thou find the Jews and Pagans; and nearest among them in love to the Believers wilt thou find those who say, ‘We are Christians’: because amongst these are men devoted to learning and men who have renounced the world, and they are not arrogant.” The references in the Quran to Jesus and Mary are bound to breed the feeling of conciliation. Further both religions contain similar fundamental truths in picturing life and the creation.

A Western critic has judiciously pointed out

1. “*Die Araber im Mittelalter und ihr Einfluss auf die Cultur Europas*,” pp. 36-38.

ISLAM AND THE WEST

the conciliatory factors between the two religions thus: "I wonder how many schoolboys would be astounded to hear, nay, how many of our clergy would be astounded to hear that Christ worshipped the God of the Muslims, when with His last breath he cried out with a loud voice: '*Allah, Allah, lama sabacthani.*'"

Muslims worship the very same God that Christ worshipped, but will not admit the divinity of Christ. They look upon him as a great Prophet, and call him *Ruh Allah*, the breath or the word of God, but they will not look upon him as a God, maintaining that there is no God but one God, and that men should not create to themselves any other gods, nor should they bow down to them nor worship them.

"The Muslims, *i.e.*, the people who are submissive to the will of God, further maintain that the Christians are the people who have been led astray by the teachings of Christ's disciples, who as ignorant fishermen misunderstood much that he taught, and in their adoration of him, worshipped him as a god, and preached accordingly . . .

"It would be interesting to know how many schoolboys know of the early Christian controversy between the Church of Rome, the base of St. Peter and all Roman Catholicism, and the Church of Antioch, the home and refuge of the other apostles and their followers . . . How many boys know of the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

terrible struggles between the Church of Rome and the other early Christians who all but prevailed, but were ruthlessly destroyed by the orders of Constantine under the influence of the Church of Rome.

“Muhammed arriving on the scene at the time of these terrible early Christian conflicts, when the two Churches were wrangling and haggling over the divinity of a man, came to the conclusion that there was no God but One God, and to prevent his people being led astray, he insisted that all images should be destroyed.

“Mohammed and his followers have been much maligned by the early Church who came into conflict with the Muslims in the days of the Crusaders. The vilest stories and terrible tales of atrocity received ready credence in those days but it is doubtful whether any of the atrocities were anything like as bad as those committed by the Church of Rome in the days of the Inquisition . . . (*Some Essays and Letters on Religions*, pp. 6-7).

The essential difference lies in the fact that although Islam is akin to genuine Christianity in the monotheistic conception of God, Islam absolutely denies the divinity of Christ, rejects the doctrine of the Trinity and repudiates crucifixion and redemption.

However, Islamic history abounds in evidences of the kindly feelings and broad toleration towards Christians. To cite a few examples :

ISLAM AND THE WEST

"Owing to the conquest of Jerusalem by the Arabs, Haroun Al-Raschid had in possession the keys of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. These he despatched to Charlemagne, the representative of Christianity in the West, an act that was meant to seal a new friendship between East and West, Islam and Christianity."¹

The eminent Arabist Edouard Montet expressed his own views and experiences of the relations of Islam to Christianity in these words: "The history of Islam justifies the affirmation that the spirit of Islam is neither fanatic nor xenophobe. Among the names of its most eminent representatives, in all ages, we find in Islam apostles of tolerance, pioneers of civilisation, friends of all peoples; consider for example the Caliph Omar in the seventh century, the Omayyads from the seventh to the eighth century, whose poet laureate was the Christian Al-Akhtal, Sultan Saladin of Egypt in the twelfth century, the Moghul Emperor Akbar in the sixteenth century etc. . .

"My personal experience in the Islamic world convince me that Islam is neither fanatic nor xenophobe."

And the following sentence was written by Renan: "Substitute Spain in the tenth century by the Arab Empire under the Abassides, or Egypt under the Fatimides, and you would preserve the

1. W. Wilson Cash: *The Moslem World in Revolution*, pp. 19-20.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

same picture of tolerance and of intellectual labour, for Baghdad, or Cairo, Samarkand or Kairawan.”¹ In an age when sectarian hatred was the chief virtue, when toleration was heresy and crime, the Sultan Salah-ud-Din (Saladin) stands out as the champion of international justice and as the pattern of courtesy, tolerance and greatness. T. W. Arnold has remarked that “that the noble character of Saladin in the Crusades and the misrule of the Crusaders led many Christians of the Near East to prefer Muslim rule to that of their co-religionists, and, after the victories of Saladin, Islam made great progress and the Church was further weakened. The remarkable thing is that when Christianity from the West, through the Crusades entered Palestine, Islam met this new element and without any sort of compulsion won over to Islam actual Crusaders themselves. During the first Crusade a body of Germans and Lombards abandoned their faith and embraced Islam. Nor was this the only incident, for in the second Crusade more than three thousand Crusaders became Muslims. The story is told by the private chaplain to Louis VII., who followed his master in the Crusade. The point he stresses is the cruelty of the Greeks to their fellow-Christians of the Latin faith. This, combined with the kind and generous treatment of the

1. Quoted by Wacyf Boutros Ghali, in his book “*La Tradition Chevalresque des Arabes.*”

ISLAM AND THE WEST

Saracens, won over this large body of men to Islam.”¹

After the conquest of Palestine by Islam the Greek priests and monks remained undisturbed, and Christian pilgrims continued to flock in ever-increasing numbers to the Holy Land, unmolested by the Arab authorities. The Catholic Church used the popular eagerness to visit the Holy cities of Christian tradition as a means of combating the power of Islam, which had threatened to overwhelm Christendom in the dark Ages. During the time of the Latin kingdom in Jerusalem, the French provided the new rulers and retained, after the fall of the kingdom, a recognised right of jurisdiction over European pilgrims, which continued to be exercised and acknowledged when Palestine passed under the tolerant rule of the Turks. That traditionally established right constituted the basis of capitulations which were first officially established under that name by the accord concluded in 1533 between King Francis I and Sultan Suleyman II. Similar agreements, bestowing upon European governments the right of jurisdiction over their nationals and over the religious foundations established by them in Palestine, were obtained by England in 1583, by Spain in 1782 and by Russia in 1783. The favoured position of France as chief protector of the religious

1. *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 88, quoted in *The Expansion of Islam*, pp. 267-268.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

houses in the Near East was confirmed in 1740 by the Treaty of Belgrade. Under Turkish rule the difficult task of maintaining order among the various denominations claiming a share of the holy place in Palestine was carried out with impartial tolerance.* The European governments, however, lost no opportunity of using the professed religious interests to further their political ends.

In regard to the Jews, the Muslims treated them equally with tolerance. To the Jews of Mesopotamia, Syria and of Egypt the Muslims came as deliverers, from the yoke of oppression. Egypt had a considerable and important Jewish community at the time of the Arab conquest, and throughout the period of Arab domination, the Jews were both prosperous and contented. Individual Jews, as individual Christians, held high office in the state in Muslim countries. Until the middle of the sixteenth century the Jewish communities in Egypt were presided over by a *Nagid*: he was appointed by the Caliph, and his installation was attended by much ceremonial. In the other districts of North Africa the conditions of tolerance were much the same. During the greater part of Muslim domination the political condition of the Jews was an easy one.

In Algeria and in Tunis, under the Turks, the

* Contrast this with the severe intolerance shown by the West when Christians in Spain, supported by the Church of Rome, did not rest until they exterminated the Moors, forcibly converted them and eventually wiped them out of the whole peninsula.

ISLAM AND THE WEST

Jews found their conditions of comfort much envied by most of their co-religionists settled in Christian lands. They were granted self-government under a *muqaddam*.

The tolerant conditions under which the Jews of North Africa were living, under Muslim rule, coupled with the harsh measures of the Visigothic kings of Spain, led the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula to welcome the Arab conquest which culminated in a permanent settlement at the beginning of the eighth century. An era of happiness dawned for the Jewish communities there.

To the Jews of the Byzantine Empire conquests by the Turks came as a relief from oppression. Under Turkish rule their position was raised so much that no precedent approaching it could be found throughout the Christendom. Many rose to high positions in the State and became the trusted advisors of successive Sultans. To the Jews of the lands of oppression Turkey became the land of promise. In the fifteenth century those of Hungary and Germany were invited to settle there, and many did so. Later, at the end of the same century, the expulsion from Spain led to a considerable further Jewish immigration into Turkey. The refugees were everywhere welcomed by the Turkish government and people. The Sultans not only granted absolute freedom to their Jewish subjects; they also, on occasions, intervened on behalf of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

foreign Jews who were suffering at the hands of other governments. Notable instances of such action were the representations made at Venice on behalf of the Donna Gracia Mendes which led to her release, and the protests sent to the Pope against the treatment of Jewish prisoners at Ancona. The office of *Hakham-bashi*, or chief rabbi, was instituted in the reign of Muhammad the Conqueror (1451-81). He was the official representative of the Jews in civil affairs and was a member of the State council. He was, in fact, under the Sultan, the ruler of Jews in Turkey. The golden age of the Jews of Turkey lasted for about two centuries. Their suffering in the eighteenth century was due to economic causes rather than political ones. During the nineteenth century their condition improved; and the revolution of 1908 in Turkey swept away all political differences among Jews, Christians and Muslims.

After the first three invasions of the East by the West (Alexander, Rome and the Crusades) the fourth European invasion of the East took place in modern times. It has been a much wider, more continuous and far more formidable assault than its predecessors. French, English, and Russians, following upon the early religious and commercial efforts of the Portuguese and Dutch, have carried on for three centuries a steady pressure of firstly, religious propaganda, then mercantile persuasion, and lastly

ISLAM AND THE WEST

armed conquest.

During the last hundred years the West has displayed an unprecedentedly aggressive vigour. The East felt the impact of the West very heavily and was politically and economically overwhelmed. The Muslim East, however, today is in acute reaction against the West. In fact, this reaction began a century ago, and has been gathering headway ever since, moved thereto both by the inherent vitality of its peoples and the internal forces of religious, political, social and economic ideas undergoing evolution, as well as by the external stimulus of western aggression and European impact.

We have already seen that with the decline of Islam a chronic state of lethargy set in until the hour when the clarion of Bonaparte disembarking in Egypt drew to the Near East the attention of the world. Meanwhile the entire globe had been explored. The hegemony of Europe affirmed itself over all the lands and the partition of the world was realised. The colonial sceptre passed from the hands of the Portuguese and the Spaniards to those of the Dutch, the English and the French. Besides its egotistic aims, colonial imperialism attempted to make of the whole world a single economic entity.

Islam, however, throughout a period of two centuries of delay did not recover from its decline and its States from the nineteenth century onward fell one after the other under the political

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

domination of Europe. England established itself in India and Egypt, while France established itself in North Africa. The twentieth century, in its opening years, saw the partition of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan into economic zones.

Realistic ideas have led to the formation of the general Imperial policy of enslavement and subjection. Russia, fighting against incommodities and closed frontiers, searched for an outlet on the free sea. England, since the India Bill (Pitt) of 1783, which raised the great question of the route to India, set forth to acquire and defend the passages and routes (land and sea) leading to it, pursuing forcefully its aim. Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Alexandria and Suez in Egypt, Palestine, Aden, Muscat, Irak, Southern Persia, Ceylon, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, lay all along that immense avenue. In its secular policy of Catholic protectorate, France laid her hands over Syria and Lebanon, defending colonial aims rather than the Christian. Germany, arriving last, showed its *Drang nach Osten* by the railway policy of the Baghdadbahn ; while Italy, intoxicated by the prestige of her established unity and haunted by the old Roman souvenirs and the more recent ones of Venice, attempted to acquire a place in this East.

In regard to the impact of Western culture and ideas, one has to go back to the Renaissance to find the early influences of occidental culture in the Near East. The movement of the Eastern renaissance

ISLAM AND THE WEST

started at the periphery to gain the interior: Egypt, Lebanon, the regions of Smyrna and Istanbul were successively touched, penetration beginning at those centres. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century—following upon a period when Latin and Italian were the vehicles of the western knowledge—French and Anglo-Saxon cultures appeared upon the scene. France was the first to sow in the Near East the seeds of a revolutionary political philosophy. This sowing took root in Egypt, following the Bonaparte expedition. Mohammad Ali, the founder of modern Egypt, continued the work of the French and extended the domain of occidental culture. Later French influences extended to Syria. Parallel with what happened in Egypt, Turkey walked in the path of reforms precipitated by the energetic action of Sultan Mahmoud II. But it was under the Hamidian Regime that education was organised and extended.

But the Frenchifying process of education which was dominant before the World War and which was identified with the appearance of the foreign school for the spread of instruction and influencing the course of ideas in the East, has since lapsed into a utilitarian and commercial manner.

England followed France, for since the British occupation of Egypt, the spirit of the Victorian scientists has made a powerful impression upon the minds of many scholars in the East. But this

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

influence was not confined to the scientists of that era ; for the leaders of the modern school of literature read Shakespeare and Shelley and Carlyle, even as their predecessors read Rousseau and Voltaire and quoted Hugo and Racine.

Thus we see that material civilisation : commerce, arts, crafts, made its impact through Italy whereas France exercised an influence on the evolution of ideas. The impact of occidental culture brought about a profound change in conceptions. In more recent times, without political occupation or purpose, the Near East has experienced another invasion from the West, an invasion that began with considerable force about a quarter of a century ago and which had a direct and practical significance. It is the invasion of Americanism that is affecting the political, social, and intellectual life of the people. The agencies of this invasion are many. Besides the channels of trade, the modern means of communication, there is a chain of American schools long established in Syria and Egypt, in Bahrein and Al-Quwait, and more recently in Iraq ; add to this, newspapers and magazines published in Arabic in the two Americas and circulated in the Near East. Besides the educator and publicist we find the immigrant (notably from amongst the Syrians) returns from America to his native land, deeply impressed by the practical side of Americanism.

From America also, after the War, came the

ISLAM AND THE WEST

voice of her chief spokesman for democracy. It was a magic voice, and the magic of it has not yet lost its potency. It was a voice to shake the fetters of the oppressed peoples everywhere and give them a new slogan—Self-determination. Woodrow Wilson will be remembered in Arabia for his message of Freedom and for his inability to make that message a political reality, yet an Arab national consciousness has developed which is giving a new unity to the Arab world.

The industrial revolution in the mode of fabrication and of transport, which has upset Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, has given it a material richness never known before to any precedent civilisation. On the other hand, the new organisation of credit, under Napoleon III and its extension to the small unproductive hoarding up, has provoked such an accumulation of liquid capitals that local consumption could no longer suffice. Merchandise and capital were thus diverted upon the East in the form of loans, concessions, financial and economic institutions, steamers, railways, aeroplanes, tramways, telegraphs, wireless, military armamentarium, machines, chemical products, musical instruments, materials for construction, furniture, articles, utensils, merchandise of all sorts and private goods. It was a virtual avalanche, the violence of which was increased by the tremendous difference of the economic level.

Until then, the East had lived on its own

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

resources and its methods of labour. Its arts and trades met the needs of its economic life. But now it found itself face to face with the implacable economic determinism with which Europe is struggling. The economic revolution has pushed Europe along a new road; and Europe, through its impact upon the East, has forced it into this path towards the unknown.

Thus the East has been brought into close contact with western life. The various Muslim lands have been permeated with western influences, having been compelled, as they are, to take serious notice of the progress, the peculiar tendencies, and the results of modern civilisation by reason of its extremely aggressive character.

The western penetration has not been confined to the Near East, but also extended to the Middle East as well, and in India, with its 82 million Muslims, a powerful western influence was brought about directly by western rule.

In all directions it appeared that the western nations were deliberately partitioning the lands of Islam and exploiting them for their own advantage. These western nations assumed that their civilisation was in every way superior to every other culture, and had been trying to force their ways of life and their standards upon the rest of the world. Religious missions, imperialistic conquests, and world trade have been handmaidens of

ISLAM AND THE WEST

western determination to make other people into its own image,—an aim which has been pursued with zeal and aggression, and perverted by complacent arrogance.

The activities of Christian missionaries were protected, and supported in some cases by armed force. Apart from this there was a growing exploitation of Muslim countries for the material advantage of western financial interests, and Islam seemed to be rapidly passing into the position of an enslaved and subject community; even those countries which were not actually subjugated being put under the "sphere of influence" of some western power. Europeans had the impression that they could easily conquer any Muslim country at their own discretion.

Western impact has further led to a conflict of two moral standards which have developed on somewhat divergent lines. Western ideas have undermined Muslim standards, so that the result has been an increased moral laxity and a corruption of youth. Western penetration has been characterised by an attitude towards life and its duties which is offensive because it cuts loose from accepted standards and the conventions of traditional sanction, and this arouses repugnance because it is an offence against the usual standards of the established social order.

Western impact was accompanied by an attitude of arrogance in that the West developed an idea of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

race and colour superiority. It showed itself by attempting to educate the subject people according to the ideas of the ruling race, the so-called 'bearing of the white man's burden', and in treating the subject population as an inferior race. The West insisted on the superiority of the entire bundle of its mode of life: its religion—itsself of Oriental origin!—its morals, its competitive capitalism and world-trade, its political concepts, even its mechanical gadgets and its worship of routinised busy work. The West considered that people were civilised if they were like its people. In so far as they differed from the Western pattern, they were uncivilised, primitive, backward, savage. The West sent out its missionaries to convert the world to its religion, to change their standards of morals. It undertook the political subjugation of Africa and the East as a duty, the white man's burden. It ruthlessly seized in the name of civilisation the vast territories, and took control of large parts of Asia and Africa, and the Pacific, partly for its own gain and aggrandisement, and partly in the belief that the West alone possessed civilisation and that its domination of the whole world meant progress and enlightenment to other peoples. In the name of civilisation the British bombarded Alexandria in 1882, the French bombarded Damascus in 1925, and the Italians bombarded Addis Ababa in 1936.

The mistake of many who insist upon the superiority of Western civilisation is that they do not

ISLAM AND THE WEST

differentiate between its real strength and other elements which are merely incidental. Zealots assume that everything in the West is by definition better than anything anywhere else. They confuse the unique features—invention, science, mechanics and organisation—with non-essential elements which have happened to be present in the West at the time of its greatness: for example, the Christian religion, competitive capitalism, democratic nationalism, certain moral standards and social habits.

Christianity, as already said, cannot be claimed as a western contribution. Furthermore, the central teachings of the founder of Christianity have never been followed in the West. Love without regard to race or caste, the Golden Rule, pacifism, humility, the abrogation of worldly goods and services—these which are the cardinal teachings of Jesus, are directly opposed to just those things which the Western nations have founded their power upon: capitalism; armaments; individualism; disregard, even scorn, of one's neighbour if he be of a different race or colour; careful planning in all phases of life both of the individual and of the State; the accumulation of material wealth.

It is one of the ironies of history that Christianity by a series of accidents should have become the professed religion of just those nations which by all their dearest practices were furthest from its teachings. The principles of Jesus have never been

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

accepted by the West and are not today a part of Western civilisation. Under the impact of the West, the East has awakened to a consciousness of its own soul: religious, political, social and intellectual revolutions are in progress in the Muslim world.

The conflict which still exists between Islam and Christendom or broadly speaking, between East and West, is mainly due to misunderstanding and ignorance which should be dispelled before mutual good-will can be hoped for. Good-will without knowledge is of no importance. The editor of *Great Britain and the East* who has a wide experience of the questions of the Near and Middle East has recently put the case of the relationship between the West and Islam in these words :

" Few indeed were the publicists of the centuries prior to the twentieth who realised that, fundamentally, that section of the East which is monotheistic is at one with the West. Europeans were taught to believe, or at any rate gained the impression, that Muslims were outside the pale of decent society, that every Muslim had at least four wives, that in the Islamic belief women had no souls, and so on. " Turks " and infidels were as one in being beyond the social intercourse of right-minded, civilised people.

" Today, happily, we know better, but we do not know enough." ¹ It must be admitted that a great

1. " What Islam wants of the West " in *Great Britain and the East*, April 1, 1937.

ISLAM AND THE WEST

deal of prejudice and misunderstanding has been cleared away by the great work of scientific exploration and study of Islam and its history and problems by a growing number of Orientalists, many of whom are erudite scholars, and are fair-minded, free from religious bias, although it is regrettable that there are still many Orientalists whose talents are put in service, not of the scientific research as such for the sake of truth, but, unfortunately, to serve Western religious, political, or imperialistic and colonial aims. Nevertheless there is a growing mutual *rapprochement* and there is a wide field for cooperation of scholars and thinkers from Islam and the West towards this task of *rapprochement*.*

The West should have a clear and right impression of Islam. It should realise and know the essential traits of Islam. It should know that Islam is a religion of Faith and, therefore, of action; of reason and, therefore, of truth; of nature and, therefore, of freedom; of knowledge and, therefore, of progress; of authority and, therefore, of discipline; of conviction and, therefore, of tenacity (persistently misnamed in the West: fanaticism); of brotherhood and, therefore, of equality; of unity and, therefore, of universality; of resignation and, therefore, of peace.

* Cf. a recent contribution by a distinguished Muslim scholar, Ahmad Zeki Validi: "Considérations sur la collaboration scientifique entre l'Orient Islamique et l'Europe" in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques, Année, 1935, Cahier III*.

PART II

CHAPTER X

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

THE post-War period has seen Islam as a self-conscious organism which has awakened and risen to take its destiny in its own hands. Throughout the world of Islam there is to be seen a conscious and passionate effort to realise and assert nationhood. A great change was brought about in consequence of the World War and some of its collateral developments. On the ruins of the Ottoman Empire and in other quarters a network of fully independent Islamic States came into being, while those Islamic countries which are still under foreign subjection are on the alert and feel that the hour of their emancipation has struck.

Thus Turkey has emerged as a strong homogeneous modern State ; Iran has ceased to be subservient to the rival influences of Russia and Britain and has become completely independent ; Afghanistan, the buffer State between rival imperialisms, has succeeded in reconquering her independence and is becoming at present the most progressive Islamic State of Central Asia ; Arabia is reborn under its strong Wahhabite ruler Ibn Sa'ud and has become, after almost ten centuries of decadence, an important

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

factor in world politics; Iraq has become an independent constitutional kingdom; Egypt has at last become a sovereign independent State after over 50 years of British control; Syria has come to terms with France and is on her way to emancipation; Yemen is virtually independent, and Albania is formally free; Palestine, on the other hand, is staunchly struggling for its liberation, and French North Africa is the scene of a steadily growing nationalist movement. In fact all other Islamic countries are in revolt against foreign tutelage and aspire to freedom. They realise the need for common action in struggling for their independence; an action which will continue until Europe is compelled to admit by deed as well as word the racial, political, social, moral and cultural equality of the Islamic peoples. But this awakening is not only national, it is also intellectual, social, economic, religious and cultural. A profound transformation is taking place with remarkable rapidity in the Islamic countries, which are evolving along their own lines. There is no part of the Islamic world where these changes are following one upon the other in so rapid a succession as in the Near East, and it is here that the observer can see at its best this transformation in progress. He cannot fail to be sharply impressed by the abounding vitality and the tremendous force which is driving the peoples of the Near East onwards in their awakening. Here is the great world junction,

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

the meeting place of races, religions and languages. And here too have marched the armies of Persia and Assyria, of Greece and Rome, of Arabia and of Turkey, and of France and Britain—all leaving their marks and memories on the land.

In this survey we can only deal with the outstandingly impressive features of this great movement and the characteristic aspects of this new spirit which is sweeping over the entire Muslim world, selecting for our field of vision the Near East.

In this movement the Arab countries are, like Turkey and Iran, intensely nationalist. But whereas Turkey has gone farthest in shaking off the Islamic form of State, having removed from her Constitution the clause stating that "Islam is the religion of the State", the Arab countries exhibit a two-fold movement: a pan-Arab nationalist movement going hand in hand with the movements for religious revival. Egypt, taking the lead, is anxious to be nationally Islamic, as Turkey is not, and constitutionally liberal as she thinks Europe is; in Palestine, Muslim and Christian Arabs have made common cause against the international power of the Jews, Sa'udi Arabia is setting up the example of a theocentric State on a purely religious basis, while Iraq and Syria are enthusiastic advocates of "Greater Arabia".

It was the political blight which for centuries has kept numb the soul of Arab countries, and with its removal, other conditions should appear—wealth,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

population, initiative, intellectual development and social experiment. These countries are today ablaze with new national and social aspirations and ambitions. Their awakening has also resulted in a marked revival of interest in religion among people of every class. The movements for religious reform and modernism are going, simultaneously, with the national movement and the struggle for complete emancipation. The recent emancipation of Iraq, the conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty and of the Franco-Syrian Treaty of friendship and alliance, have been a remarkable achievement and a direct result of that struggle—political, cultural and social. These events mean for the revived Arab East the ushering in of a new age, when every people shall have full control in its own household and an equal say in the affairs of the world. The rising tide of Arab nationalism has drawn together the constituent Arab countries with a growing sense of solidarity and moral unity of the Arab peoples which will be felt increasingly.

The political evolution of the Arab countries will be dealt with along with other Islamic countries in the following chapter.

With regard to the social evolution it may be said at the outset that it occupies a dominant place in the general awakening of Islamic peoples. The most profound changes and the most radical transformation have taken place in Kamalist Turkey. Since

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

a decade Kamal Atatürk has been pursuing his policy of transforming Turkey with extraordinary vigour and effect. Its principal aims were, firstly, the swift conversion of the Turkish people from being principally Muslim to being principally Turk, and, secondly, the westernisation of Turkey with the purpose of making its people a self-conscious national unit, as secure as possible from foreign political and economic interference. A complete outward change has been effected, so that the Turkish people have become outwardly unrecognisable from 'other Europeans', although they must be Turk in race, speech, and ideals.

During the last few years Iran has been active in following the example of Turkey in the work of modernisation. Under the leadership of Reza Shah Pahlevi, it has become a strong, progressive State. His policy is best demonstrated in his own words said in an interview with the well-known English traveller Rosita Forbes some four years ago. "What the Shah said to me," by Rosita Forbes, in the *Daily Mail*, January 5, 1933. He said :

"My country must learn to do without foreigners. I hope within the next few years it will be unnecessary to employ anyone but Persians. Remember we are the heirs of an Empire and we have inherited our experience from the centuries when Asia led the world. The national character has got to be hardened.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

For too long my countrymen have relied upon foreigners. I want to teach them their own value, so that they may be independent in mind and action.

“‘Civilization is different in every country. I do not want to turn the Persian into a bad copy of a European. That is not necessary, for he has mighty traditions behind him. I want to make my countrymen into the best possible Persians, neither wholly Western nor wholly Eastern. Each country has a mould of its own which should be developed and improved till it produces a citizen who is not replica of anyone else, but an individual sure of himself and proud of his nationality.

“‘Persia is mistress in her own house. She has a right to develop her own wealth and to protect it with its own arms.’”

Among the outstanding features of the social change we may distinguish the progress of education and pedagogic reforms, the status of women and the feminist movement, change from nomadism to sedentarism, industrialisation and evolution of labour, and the effervescence of youth.

“Great social reforms always have been and always will be the result of great religious movements.” If these words of Mazzini's are true they surely have their most corroborative evidence in the great religious movement in Islam, which is associated

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

with the social change in its countries. We have already dealt with the subject of Islamic reform and modernism in a previous chapter.

Apart from Turkey, which does not fall into the group of countries now under discussion, Egypt is playing the central rôle amongst the Arab countries which all look to her for guidance. Even in the nationalist and political field, Egypt has been the inspirer of her Arab neighbours. As an illustration of this we may mention the sequence of political events in the past year. Troubles over the Constitution had broken out in Egypt in November, 1935. A little later nationalist activity took place in Syria and almost simultaneously with it, another one in Algeria with repercussions in Tunis and Morocco, and, a short time afterwards, the Arabs of Palestine launched their revolutionary campaign against Zionism and the British Mandate. The rest of the Arab countries did not, however, remain silent. For independent Iraq officially demonstrated her sympathy with the Syrian movement by means of a unanimous vote in the Iraqi Parliament which has been further communicated to the League of Nations. And the same happened in a more pronounced way towards the Palestine revolt in 1936. Furthermore, Arab solidarity has been manifested towards the Palestinian Arab cause through mediatory intervention first of Iraq and later of all independent Arab sovereigns. Egypt,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

too, did not fail to show her sympathy and support.

The Arab Unity plans, mainly initiated by the late King Faisal of Iraq, are actually rising to fulfilment. The Inter-Arab Alliance Pact, recently concluded between Iraq, Sa'udi Arabia, Yemen, and Transjordan, has received a powerful impetus through the Egyptian-Sa'udite Treaty of friendship and mutual cooperation. Egypt's prestige in the international field is being recovered, especially since her recent success in the abolition of the Capitulations, and will make itself steadily felt. Only Palestine remains to be delivered in order that the Arab block in the Near East may attain its full integrity. In the Holy Land, the Arabs aspire to no less an emancipation than that of their fellow Arab neighbours and their clamour for political independence continues with redoubled energy.

Industrialisation is advancing in the Arab East at a notable speed. Here again Egypt occupies the first place. The great economic edifice built up by the Egyptian "*Banque Misr*", an entirely national institution, together with its fifteen affiliated societies covering every domain of national economy and industry, has acquired a predominant place, not only in the economic life of Egypt but throughout the Arab East. It is extending its enterprises into Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and Arabia. Thanks to its enterprises, Egyptian steamers have their line

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, Egyptian airships connect Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq in one chain, and Egyptian capital is being utilised for the economic reconstruction of the Hijaz and the Sudan.

The economic reconstruction in Egypt is due almost entirely to the unflagging energy and zeal of Talaat Harb Pashe, director of Banque Misr, who is easily the greatest leader of economic regeneration in the entire Arab East.

The immense populations of the Arab countries are still mainly agricultural, and the standard of life, judged by European standards, is still very low. Great efforts are now being made to improve the village economy—in Egypt there is a wide movement for the uplift of the Egyptian village—and the fellah (cultivator) may be seen to be progressing toward an ideal of syndicalism. There is also a notable transformation of labour in Egypt, which is being organised along modern western lines, and this may have its effect in the whole Arab East, and even beyond. Through the carefully drawn up plan for village reform in Egypt, the fellah will surely rise to a higher stage of evolution. In fact, agrarian evolution in the Near East is witnessing a new state of affairs, by the gradual transformation from nomadism into sedentarism. In this respect, the improvement and multiplication of means of communication in their modern form has largely contri-

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

buted to this evolution. The major and pressing problems of combating illiteracy and infant mortality, of improving sanitation and applying the principles of preventive medicine, and of education of women are given serious attention.

Impressive strides have been made throughout the Near East towards a great literary revival. The rapid multiplication of newspapers and periodicals and of book and pamphlet literature, the great increase in number of literary societies and intellectual organisations along modern lines, the exchange of academic visits of scholars, professors and students among the Arab countries, as well as of scientific research missions are phenomena that are witnessed today in these countries. The appointment of Egyptian teachers and experts in the educational centres of Iraq, Arabia and Yemen, the exchange of students, the reorganisation of universities and the increase of new colleges, the dissemination of the wireless and its utilisation for the propagation of cultural activities, the rising and surging tide of new thought, the flourishing movement of translation of foreign literature, all bear convincing evidence of a notable intellectual awakening. The new organisation and extension of public instruction and the lately introduced pedagogic reforms are exerting a great emancipating influence in this transformation. Organisations for the revival of classic Arab literature, for the new Arab literature, for the

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

vulgarisation of the classics, as well as an official Egyptian office whose object is the fostering of intellectual, literary, and social relationships between the Arab countries, have widened the horizon of the literary renaissance.

Efforts are being constantly made to promote cooperation and moral unity among Arab countries through exchange of publications, reduction of postal tariffs on Arabic publications, removal of customs barriers, facilitating travel and intercourse by means of eliminating passports among the Arab countries, celebrations of the great literary personalities of the past, e.g., the recent celebrations of the millenary of Al-Mutanabbi, the famous Arab poet, of the historian Ibn Khaldun, of Al-Gahiz, etc., as well as modern literary celebrities such as Ahmad Shawki, Hafiz Ibrahim, Jamil Az-Zahawi and so on. In these celebrations leaders of modern Arabic thought and literature from all quarters of the Arab East take part and contribute towards the creation of a unified literary ideal. The glorious past of the Arabs is used as a stimulus for the present revival, and the achievements of the present are utilised to promote the greater development in the future.

The Arabic language, as the literary instrument of the Arab Near Eastern countries and North Africa (where it is the common language of some 60 to 70 millions), has maintained real spiritual affinities among these peoples. The "Royal Philological

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Academy ", founded in Cairo in 1933, is preparing an official dictionary of the Arabic language, elaborated to meet all modern conditions, which will certainly contribute towards the much-desired linguistic unity among all the Arabic-speaking peoples, from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf.

Education has brought with it the study of foreign languages and increasingly the literature of the West is being opened to the East. "Shut your Byron, open your Goethe" was the preaching of Carlyle a century ago, and an increasing number of Egyptian scholars and young writers are setting themselves to the task of interpreting the French, English and German literature to the Arabic-speaking world. A fairly large production of such translations has been done in the past decade. Eager students who receive western education abroad return to their homes to translate the learning of Europe into the language of the Quran, thus widening still further the cultural horizon.

The demand for literature is a natural outcome of the spread of literacy. The output is enormous. Arabic and Islamic literature, written with a spirit of scientific enquiry, and in a method which appeals to the modern mind, is rapidly produced by profound scholars.

Taking Islamic literature as a whole, we should bear in mind that two questions arise: a linguistic question, and a political and religious one. From

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

the linguistic point of view, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, languages of this literature, belong to totally different groups. Thus, Arabic is a Semitic language, Persian is an Indo-European language, in the same way as Sanscrit, Greek and Latin and Turkish are a part of the so-called Altaic languages.

From a religious point of view the influence of Islam persists in a great part of works composed by the Arabs of today and to a lesser extent in the literature of modern Iran, where souvenirs of ancient Persia pervade modern literature. As for Turkey, the laicisation spirit is impregnating its literature more and more. The elimination of a large number of Arabic words from Turkish, and to some extent, Persian, during the past few years, has been a factor in gradually depriving Arabic of its unique character as a common language of the Muslim *élite*, although Arabic remains the religious language of the whole Muslim world. However, the acutely conscious nationalism in Turkey and Iran, activated by ethnic diversities, has favoured this gradual dissociation. But notwithstanding this, the renaissance of the Arabic language has, as we have remarked, received its greatest impetus in the Arabic countries themselves, especially in Egypt, which is looked upon as the intellectual leader of the Arab world. It was through the Arab world that the renaissance of Islamic literature began in the first half of the nineteenth century. Napoleon

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Bonaparte was the initiator by his Egyptian expedition, thus setting a permanent contact between Europe and the Levant, and introducing the press which had a far-reaching influence on the literary evolution. Other factors in this renovation were the organisation of schools by Mohammed Ali, the founder of modern Egypt (about 1830), the multiplication of educational centres, the reorganisation of Al-Azhar University in Cairo (in 1872), thus contributing towards the formation of the intelligentsia, while libraries and literary societies multiplied. All these diverse organisms favoured the edition of ancient texts, as well as translations and adaptations from foreign languages. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the feminist movement participated in these literary efforts. Further, the emigration of Egyptians to Europe, of Syrians to Egypt, to America and to Europe, extended the field of foreign influences and widened the intellectual circle.

Actually, the works of modern poets, who are very numerous, reflect two tendencies: the one which seeks its models in the epoch of the Abbasid Caliphate (tenth century), and even earlier epochs, while other poets draw their inspiration from Europe, trying to instil into their poems new thoughts; still another group of poets break away from the rules of rhyme and metric. Political poetry flourishes above all in Egypt, while satire

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

and humour nourish a rich dialectical poetry. During recent years two schools of literature figure prominently in the intellectual movement. The first, which saw the light of day with the opening of this century, is that of Syrian emigrants in America, who take to poems in prose form and to essays, being above all stylists who, with few exceptions, do not occupy themselves with current events in the Orient. On the other hand, after the World War, another school developed in Egypt, characterised by its manifestations of nationalism, by its attachment to the ancient literature and by editing its texts. This latter school is the one opposed to the former and is at the head of the literary movement of today.

In point of fact, the philological tradition which took firm root many centuries ago, is still maintained in Iraq, Syria and North Africa, as well as in Egypt, where the Philological Academy, already mentioned, has been created. But the Egyptians passed on from this philology to the literary history, which has many eminent representatives. Moreover, simultaneously with the Syrians in America, they have inaugurated the type of novel which is spread through the Arab world. From the "novel" the fiction of manners and customs has evolved and is also well represented by a group of modern young writers. Here may be seen some influence of European literature which is also seen in

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the theatre : since a decade and a half there has been a slow evolution of tragedies, due to imitation of Europe, with an orientation towards the comedy. Sometimes recourse is had to popular language.

Since the rapid progress of the literary movement during the past few years, one is impressed by the practical results of efforts of the Egyptian and other Arab writers, who have succeeded in adapting the classic Arabic language to conditions of modern life, and, further, in the production of scientific works in the same language which is one of the richest languages of a universal character, and which by its richness and pliancy, affords a vast wealth of vocabulary which could be made to meet the technical terms of modern science and usage. We may thus mention, as an example, the various lexica of technical terms published by modern scholars, like Dr. Mohammad Sharaf,¹ Ahmad Issa Bey,² Ma'luf Pasha,³ Mazhar Sa'id,⁴ and to the scientific works of Yakub Sarruf, Fouad Sarruf, M.A., Al-Ghamrawy, Dr. Musharrafa, etc. Allusion may also be made to the lexicographic works and researches of Ahmad Zaki Pasha, Ibrahim Al-Yaziji, P. Anastas Al-Karmaly, etc., as well as to the new Review of the Arabic Academy,

1. *An English-Arabic Dictionary of Medicine, Biology and Allied Sciences*, Cairo, 1929.

2. "*Dictionnaire des Noms des Plantes*," Cairo, 1930.

3. "*Mu'jam al Hayawan*," Cairo, 1933.

4. *Technical Terms of Psychology* edited in "*Al-Muktataf Review*," Cairo, 1932-34.

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

organ of the aforementioned philological academy. In addition to this, the works of modern writers, whether in pure literature or in science, impart a new vigour and a real new lustre to the Arabic language, and are at the same time an eloquent testimony to the high level of modern Arabic thought. As illustrations of such literature may be cited the essays of Mohammed Hussain Haikal, the studies and psychological pages of Taha Hussain, the criticisms of publicist Abbas Mahmoud Al-Akkad, the fantasies of Ibrahim Al-Mazini, the researches of Zaki Mubarak, the essays of late Mustafa Sadek Al Rafe'i, the historical studies of Muhammad Abdallah Enan, the fiction of Mahmoud Taymur, the novels of Tawfik Al-Hakeen, the considerations of Ahmad Hassan Az-Zayyat and Ameen Rihani, as well as the poetry of Ahmad Shawki, Hafiz Ibrahim, Khalil Motran, A. Z. Abushady, Ahmad Moharram and a certain number of young poets and litterateurs.

The Arabic press is multiplying by leaps and bounds and covers every domain of culture. Islamic topics figure prominently in a large number of them. Besides the purely Islamic press, the important daily papers in Egypt consecrate almost daily a full page to all that concerns Arab countries and their relationships.

It needs to be emphasised once more that Egypt is virtually the leader of the intellectual Arab movement. Although it still maintains a reserved

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

or rather undecided attitude toward the pan-Arab movement in its political aspects, yet, in view of the fact that she has always been active in the propagation of Arab unity ideas, and in the initiation of social reform, and that the religious revival movement took deep root on her side and bore rich fruits, she cannot dissociate herself from a closer contact with the other countries of the Arab East. Egypt, in fact, has during the last few years, and, more conspicuously, since the conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty last year, begun to pursue an active policy of cooperation—intellectual, social, economic, and commercial—with all the Arab neighbouring countries east of Suez. It is all the more significant that this policy and new orientation is finding official sanction from the Government, as well as an enthusiastic, whole-hearted support of prominent, responsible Egyptians, and a host of writers, publicists, and pan-Arab leaders in other quarters. So that one may well speak of a collective movement of sympathy, fraternisation and solidarity among the constituent lands of the Arab East. Even the idea of pan-Arab unity has been extended beyond the boundaries of the Arabian peninsula to cover Iran, Afghanistan, etc. Every event and occasion is being exploited to demonstrate in a convincing manner this solidarity and fraternisation between the Arab nation and other Islamic nations. There is in Egypt a host of societies and

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

organisations which actively work for the main aims of the different movements: nationalism, Pan-Arabism, Pan-Islamism.

Stress must be once more laid upon the importance of Cairo as the intellectual Arab metropolis and the nerve centre of the Islamic religious movement. Its significance as a meeting-place of men from near and far countries of Islam has been markedly enhanced within recent years through the progress of the Pan-Arab and Pan-Islam idea, and also, needless to say, owing to its central situation at the junction of three continents as the bridge between the East and West, and through the greatly improved and rapid means of communication. Today Cairo must be more emphatically reckoned with as the cosmopolis of the renascent Near East. Princes from Arabia as well as Nawabs from India, Sultans from Black Africa and Chiefs from the Sudan, Chinese religious Khojas and Indonesian nationalist leaders, Iranian Mujtahids and Yougoslavian and Polish Muftis, as well as Moroccan Sidis and Iraqi scholars,—all come to Cairo. Here they witness the remarkable scene of awakening that is taking place. They are attracted by this focal point, which all these Muslim dignitaries do not leave until they have been entertained by statesmen, societies, organisations and prominent personalities. Here, not only do they feel the proverbial hospitality of Egypt, but they attend a manifestation of Muslim solidarity and

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Arab brotherhood. Meetings in their honour are held at the Y. M. M.A.,* where lectures on Islamic unity are delivered at Pan-Arab and Pan-Islamic leagues. They visit numerous cultural, social and economic organisations, nor do they fail to visit the edifices of Banque Misr, as the standing proof of the economic capacities and achievements of awakened Islam, as well as the famous Azhar University, the stronghold of Islamic teachings, where thousands of eager students come in a remarkable influx from every corner of the Muslim world for study. They do not even miss a visit to the *Dharih Saād* (the shrine of the late Egyptian nationalist leader Saād Zaghloul Pasha), to pay tribute to the valiant Egyptian nationalism. Thus they feel the beating heart of modern Islam and watch with profound interest and zeal the progress and reform achieved in all domains. Not a few of them are invited to address a heterogeneous audience so that exchange of ideas, propagation of mutual knowledge, and manifestation of unity find their full expression. In one word, here is to be seen Islam on the march at its best.

Before we proceed further, we shall give a brief account of the development of modern Persian and Turkish literature. The modern Persian literature owes its beginnings to the theatre. In fact, Iran

* Young Men Muslim Association.

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

possessed its liturgical theatre and a sort of "*commedia d'll'arte*". But the comedies of manners composed by Mirza Jāfar (1874) and by Malkom Khan (1881) infused into the old forms of literature the vivacity of the current language and of popular words. The literary societies contributed to the simplification of the written language. At last the revolution of 1906 dealt the *coup de grâce* to ancient prose by opening a free path to parliamentary debates and, above all, to the press, where the most original talents could find expression. Since then, the Iranian press has deliberately adopted the European procedures of editing. Several reviews, more or less durable, supported feminism, which is now victoriously terminating its evolution. In all these organs, exaltation of the national past is shown by means of historical or literary studies, by selected passages from ancient authors, and above all, by the importance attached to the dead languages of Iran and to the recent archæological discoveries—a splendid occasion has thus been furnished at the millenary of Firdausi (1934). This movement has been determined by the new dynasty and served by the erudites. Naturally, the cult of the past leads to the study of languages and of popular traditions and, above all, to the composition of a general history of Iran, conceived according to the rules of criticism. However, this intellectual nationalism does not exclude foreign influences, which are favoured by

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

translations. The favour accorded to translations of philosophical or sociological works reveals the preoccupations of an *élite* and affects the evolution of the scholarly language.* Some writers show a rare talent in the versified adaptation of occidental poems. Like Arab poetry, the poetry of Iran counts many representatives. Undoubtedly, certain poets hold strictly to the classical proceedings and to the imitation of ancient masters, in the lyrical style and even in the epic (one of them is pursuing the publication of a monumental poem which would be the continuation of the national epic of Firdausi). But the majority, who are generally true to the traditional rules of poetical art, have succeeded in realising a more fluid lyric style. The poetry of political or social topical events, which was born of the revolution of 1906, has run its course ; the remaining source of its inspiration being patriotism and the praise of the reigning dynasty. Finally, some poets have used a more flowing metre, analogous to that of the French symbolists, even resorting to popular language for satirical fantasy.

For some fifteen years, the novel and fiction have been enjoying a growing vogue. The first reveals sometimes French and even American influences, whereas the fiction has been to some extent influenced by such writers as Dumas, and the

* The most distinguished living Iranian scholar is Mirza Muhammad Khan (Qazwini).

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

Egyptian Gorgi Zaidan, especially historical fiction as well as that of a nationalist tendency. In the theatre, historical dramas are seen as well as comedies of manners. With these new developments, the vocabulary is in full evolution ; if it sets out to eliminate the Arabic words, it welcomes, on the contrary, the neologisms of occidental origin. Moreover, the alphabet has been romanised, save in religious publications.

This romanisation has been realised in Turkey. It is true that the literature of Turkey has totally broken with the classical tradition in the second part of the nineteenth century. The Arabic and Persian words were eliminated, the phrases were shortened with a view to clearness. This work of purification and simplification was commenced precisely at the epoch of Tanzimat (the political and administrative reforms introduced in the Ottoman Empire by Abdul-Majid in 1839). At that time, educational institutes were created which formed an *élite* which escaped the traditionalism of the *medressehs*. The movement was promoted by eminent writers such as Chinasi, Zia Pacha, Namek Kamal and Abdul-Hakk Hamid (who died recently), who introduced the ideas of the fatherland, of liberty and democracy. The rise of the press and the translation of European works helped the progress of the movement. At the same time, the researches pursued by the erudites on Turkish

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

origins (following the example of European orientalists) sowed the first germs of nationalism, and the beginnings of the enfranchisement of language.

A second generation set out to deliver the literature from traditional influences. It was at the end of last century that poetry began to deal with political events of the hour, fiction developed and depicted the popular classes. The revolution of 1908 opened the paths for nationalism, at first mixed up with Pan-Islamism, when the Ottoman ideal dominated, but was soon replaced by the Turkish ideal. Thus the principle of national unity replaced the principle of religious unity and achieved the emancipation of woman; factors which were decisive for the future of literature. This national movement found its leader in Zia Gök Alp, a poet and sociologist. In his works he used a style and a vocabulary exclusively Turk and was, perhaps, the first to attribute to popular literature the importance which it deserves. His action, vigorous and profound, has its effect on the writers of recent years by the adoption, almost general, of syllabic meter, by the utilisation of forms and subjects of popular literature, and by the introduction in literature of the representation of all social categories. The studies in history, in philology and literary history then took their free play to a very remarkable degree. The intense development of the press, since the armistice of Moudros (1918) and the

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

adoption, ten years later, of the Latin characters have made the action of the spoken language on the literary language a decisive one.

Like prose, the poetry strives to employ a strictly Turkish vocabulary and to avoid foreign influences, without, however, dispersing with them all. Thus certain poems have undergone the influence of futurism or the most modern French poetique. As for the theatre, after the memorable historical dramas of Namek Kamal (died 1888) it was retarded in its evolution by the censure established by Sultan Abdul-Hamid's reign and by too numerous adaptations of foreign plays.

To sum up: these three literatures, although produced by strongly different ethnic groups, present common aspects; the evolution, more or less parallel, of the press, poetry, and theatre; the birth of the novel and the essay; the growing action of nationalism—and of its auxiliaries; historical sciences and philological sciences—on the styles strictly literary which feel the external influences, more or less directly.

The growth of the movement among women has been an indication of the part that the Oriental woman is already playing, and the greater part she may still play in the awakening of the East. Many Muslim women are now crossing the threshold into a world in which men and women meet under normal wholesome conditions. It is now realized that the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

women have to play an immense part in the work of national regeneration in Islamic countries, and that their education will have an immense influence on the morals of a civilised society. There have been rapid strides towards the goal of education for girls. The higher place of woman in the social system and the progress of her education is a vital factor in the present social upheaval. There is rapid disappearance of the veil and an increasing measure of freedom for women, especially in cities where people are in touch with modern happenings. Women in some Muslim countries (e.g., Turkey) have attained a political status which Western women have struggled for long to reach.

In Istanbul, the conference of the Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship opened and was the first women's international conference ever held in a Muslim country. Women in Turkey over 21 are permitted to vote, and there are over 17 women in Parliament. This is the result of recognition on the part of the Turkish Government that a modern nation requires equalisation of men and women in all phases of life. The new policy of the government is to steadily encourage the activities of women. It is part of the general movement, including educating women, admitting them to the university on full status with men, encouraging them to enter the professions, appointing them as judges, and magistrates, giving them equal divorce rights,

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

passing the new laws which abolished polygamy, setting the marriage ages—16 for girls and 18 for boys. In 1930, women in Turkey were granted the municipal vote and allowed to sit on city councils.

But it will be many years before the status of the conservative women in outlying districts will have perceptibly changed. The leaders of the feminist movement in the East are confronted with a difficult task; they are struggling to effect a change of centuries-old traditions in the face of opposition from the older generation, and they must be interpreters of the new freedom, both in word and deed, to the multitudes of women, especially the lower classes. Educated women in the East are participating now in the political, cultural and social fields of national life.

The women's movement in Egypt has made very striking progress during recent years, under the able leadership of Madame Huda Sha'arawi, president of the Egyptian Women's Union. But whereas the tendency in Turkey has been decidedly, and, through the inspiration and guidance of the State, to break loose from religious precepts, and to pretend—and that is quite false and unfounded—that "no relationship should be recognised between religion and progress, since social progress is blocked if contingent on religion" (words of a leader in the Turkish Parliament), in Egypt, women leaders have chosen that their nationalism and their evolution

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

shall express itself within the spirit of the Law of Islam which is not incompatible with progress within normal healthy limits. Although there is at present two tendencies in Islamic countries, the one leaning towards the Turkish type of reform and the other towards the Egyptian type, there is evidence of the preponderance of Cairo over Ankara. For the leaders of the feminist movement in Egypt, who are ardent admirers of the achievements of Kamalist Turkey for womanhood,* rightly and wisely realise that all desired reforms can be effected without going beyond the limit and setting aside the teachings of the Quran. In other words they advocate a progressive Quranic feminism.

An interesting illustration of this effort of the Egyptian feminist movement to harmonise the two tendencies, is that opportunity has been given on different occasions, to a Turkish publicist and an Egyptian Islamic progressive writer to deliver public addresses under its auspices. The first spoke on the Kamalist Youth Movement in Turkey, while the second spoke on Pilgrimage to Mecca and his personal impressions thereof.

Nationalism which in Europe has put back the clock of woman's advance has had the contrary effect in the East. The leaders of the East have

* For instance, the "*Egyptienne*", organ of the Egyptian Women's Union, recently consecrated a number (June, 1936) to commemorate the Feminist Congress of Istanbul and New Turkey which is accorded full sympathy. Further, this Union has recently sent a girls' mission for special instruction to the Ismet Institute at Ankara.

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

recognised that a strong nation cannot be built without the co-operation of an educated and healthy womanhood. It is by appeal to patriotism that women have been awakened to the realisation of their responsibility for service to the Nation. A few examples of this nationalistic fervour may be mentioned; the heroic part played by Turkish women under the leadership of Halide Edib in the War of Independence, the effective participation of Egyptian women in the revolution of 1919 for independence, the protest of the women of Iran who threw off their veils and exhorted their men to uphold the liberty of their country during the revolution of 1911, the protests made against Zionism in 1929 by a group of unveiled women at the High Commissioner and the appeal made to British women by the Arab Women Committee of Jerusalem, last year, concerning the problem of Palestine and their appeal to the World Peace Congress at Brussels, and again, the way in which so many of the Muslim women of India have joined in the national movement of that country.

It is beyond doubt that the legal, social and pedagogic status of the modern Muslim women is in full evolution. We should only add a remark made by a Western observer that "perhaps as the Muslim woman becomes better acquainted with her sisters of the West, with their leanings towards vulgarity and exhibitionism, there will be less

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

enthusiasm for complete abandonment of privacy and maidenly modesty. And it is not easy to see bars and cabarets penetrating the Muslim world and applying the word 'progress'."

Another feature of the social upheaval is the awakening of labour and its steady development in Egypt where it has been organised, although it has not yet assumed the importance it has in the countries of the West. Already several Islamic countries have become members of the International Labour Organisation and participate in the international collaboration of labour. It seems that the present government has made a serious bid for the working man's support.

An interesting and constant feature of the transformation actually going on in the Orient is the important rôle played in it by the effervescent youth. It would carry us too far to describe in detail the aspects of the youth movement in the Renaissance East. I wish merely to emphasise the fact that during recent years the youth, especially the students, in Egypt, as well as in the other countries of the Near East, occupy the centre of the stage of national life and politics, in which their rôle is getting more and more important. At the same time their intellectual and social tendencies are increasingly affirmed. Their nationalist activities have been, at times, of such moment as to impose their will on their political leaders.

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

As the consequence of the internal evolution in the realm of family life, the Oriental youth have become, within a remarkably short time, the hope of the old generation, who have neither possibilities of organising a State, nor the scientific and administrative knowledge necessary for the comprehension and the following up of modern political movements. Therefore the youth have become the hope of the nation and of the old inadapted generations. Judgment and action have thus been left in their hands. Parallel with this overthrow of family traditions is another phenomena which has been both the cause and the consequence of this evolution in the family life; the growth of school establishments and education. All youth, brought up under the intellectual influence of the West, are ardently nationalist, (girls actively participate in nationalist activities, demonstrations, meetings, strikes, etc.). The students, who are saturated with the nationalist ideology, take a passionate interest in politics and are, therefore, very active in the political arena. Lately there have been formations of a sort of "storm-troops" among the students, who belong to the nationalist parties. Thus there are the Blue and Green Shirts in Egypt, the Iron Shirts in Syria, and so on, organised along a demi-Fascist line. The desire to see the construction of homogeneous new Arab States, in which no questions of minorities, or distinctions of religion or origin are to be raised,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

has led to a national union and assimilation, where all non-Muslim elements of the nation (e.g., Copt, Christian, Greek Orthodox, etc.) play an active rôle in the political agitation of youth in the Valley of the Nile as well as in the other countries of the Near East. And here is certainly an index of the evolution which is taking place.

As for the intellectual tendency of the Oriental youth, they are resolutely modern. They take a deep interest in the new aspects of the scientific civilisation of the West. But those Muslim lands which have been most exposed to Western influences have been rather precipitate in their abandonment of traditional ways in their rush to absorb and adopt Western ways of life. But it is the essential task of the intellectual *élite* which is gradually making its appearance in the Orient, to gain a clear realisation of the true value of modernity, and to effect the necessary modifications in accepting and imbibing Occidental culture. Islam has had a very short time to adjust itself to the new age of industry, education and emancipation, and, therefore, extreme care should henceforth be exercised in determining for itself how it should adjust itself to the new era. The youth are in need of proper guidance in their present difficult crisis of intellectual adaptation.

Psychologically this youth have full self-confidence and a large measure of pride due to their success in the domain of national life. As a matter

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

of fact, the youth have been, particularly in Egypt, responsible for the great work of social reform movement, covering all aspects of national life, and they have shown capability of union and discipline in their social activities which, judging by their hitherto attained results, seem to be very promising. It is, of course, admitted that the youth, who lack experience, need the wise influence of an intellectual *élite*, which, as we have already said, is making its appearance, and, therefore, one may look to the future with confidence.

Let it be only repeated here that there is a growing recognition of the necessity of the assimilation and acceptance of Western science and technics, but at the same time of consulting and acting upon the voice of Islamic culture, which is a reality.

CHAPTER XI

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

HAVING made a collective description of the striking features of awakened Islam we propose to make a rapid survey of the present situation in the principal individual countries of Islam commencing with the Near East, the very centre of the Islamic world, in which there are at present vital changes and urgent problems affecting the world. Here the struggle for emancipation is gathering force, and those countries which have achieved their independence are working hard over the task of national reconstruction and modernisation.

KAMALIST TURKEY

THE dissolution of the Ottoman Empire following the World War was one of the most significant events in recent world history. No less amazing was the revivification of the Turkish people and the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic under the leadership of Kamal Atatürk.

The new Republic was to be oriented along the paths of nationalism, industrialism and secularism.

Considerations of space make it impossible to do

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

more in this brief survey than indicate the nature of some of the aspects of the transformation of Turkey.

The final abolition of the Caliphate on March 3, 1924 has already been dealt with. This date marked an important turning point in the secularisation of Turkey. It also witnessed the suppression of the religious schools or *medressehs*, of the religious courts and of the *cadis*, who presided over them, of the ministry of religious affairs and of pious foundations "*awkafe*".

A few months later a second measure was adopted; it was a ban on the fez. On December 1, 1925, the Grand National Assembly took a vote to suppress the fez. All the Turks wore hats. To them they seemed less an article of apparel than a symbol of intellectual emancipation.

Another measure, as radical as it was swift, marked the secular evolution of Turkey. It was the suppression of the dervishes. At certain periods the dervishes had exercised great political influence. This had declined greatly, but their numbers remained considerable. Kamal Atatürk suppressed the dervishes, and obliged them to dress like everybody else. The Republic then went still further. Through a law passed on December 3, 1934, the Grand National Assembly forbade ecclesiastics of any sect to wear the dress of their calling except in their religious ceremonies. Exceptions were made only in the cases of the Turkish head of

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

religious affairs, the Grand Rabbi, and the Greek and Armenian patriarchs. In explaining the reasons for the law, Chukru Kaya, the Turkish Minister of the Interior, emphasised its prime importance and said: "One of the foundations of our revolution is secularisation. Now to be secular is to suppress all religious influence from the affairs of the State and the nation . . . A secular state cares little for the prescriptions of any religion. Its decisions are dictated by major reasons, imposed by the real interests of the nation."

The next important step after the abolition of religious training was the secularisation of education. An immense educational effort followed, along purely Western lines. It was aided by two other important reforms—the adoption of international figures, which was voted on May 24, 1928, and the substitution of Latin characters for Arabic script, which became compulsory on January 1, 1929. Formerly 85 per cent of the population was completely illiterate; today, more than two million adults know how to read and write. The instruction given in Turkey is not only secular, free, and compulsory; it is 'unified', which means that all educational organisations have passed into the hands of the State. It is also 'mixed', which means that boys and girls are educated together. This principle has been put into effect in all the primary and secondary schools and in a great many of the junior colleges.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Immense progress has been accomplished within the last ten years in the field of public instruction.

The Turks say that they are republicans, nationalists, populists, secular and revolutionary. Their present system of education is made to fit that scheme of things. Turkey gave up the ideal of Pan-Islam and took on Western nationalist ideals. Under the Ottoman Sultans Turkey was not against introduction of Western methods. She was against too rapid change and had often to resist foreign aggression by reverting to older ideals. But the Turkish Republic realised that in modernisation, swift and thorough, lay Turkey's one chance of survival. Before the programme of reforms was launched, foreign missions and proselytising agents had been put under strict control. Foreign missions represented foreign interests. In their schools foreign ideals were indoctrinated into the students. For the object of the foreign school is foreign culture. Turkey became no place for a missionary who was not willing to forego all ideas of proselytising and to devote himself wholeheartedly to the task of helping Turkey develop according to her own genius.

On April 9, 1928 the Grand National Assembly voted to remove from the Constitution the words, "the religion of the Turkish State is the religion of Islam".

The progress of legislative reform has also been

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

very significant. Turkey adopted Western codes of law based on the French, Swiss, German and Italian legal systems, in substitution for the Islamic Law.

The position of women was completely changed. A series of laws abolished polygamy and required the registration of marriages while civil marriages were made obligatory after September, 1926. The abolition of the veil was obtained by unofficial propaganda. Women were permitted to engage in all the occupations to an extent not yet attained in some countries of Western Europe. Women judges and lawyers are no rarity in Turkey. Recently, however, the Turkish Government went a step further. A 28-year-old woman was appointed Inspector-in-Chief of the Economic Department of the Turkish Foreign Office. In February 1931 Ataturk made a speech in which he declared that women had equal rights with men and that in future it was possible that they might share with men the duty of military service. The higher professions were thrown open to them.

The adoption of Western legal systems was of considerable importance in view of the abolition of the capitulations in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923. The Gregorian Calendar and the twenty-four hour clock were adopted in 1926.

Side by side with this revolution in the social and cultural life of Turkey, there proceeded a determined effort to free the economic life of the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

country from foreign control and to develop Turkey's resources by the Turks for the Turks. In 1929 the National Assembly voted a huge appropriation for a consolidated public-works programme to extend over twelve years and to include railway, port, irrigation, reclamation, and highway constructive projects. Industrialisation of the country is going at a rapid rate. State control has been established over a number of important industries. The complete nationalisation of all the railway systems has been effected. A plan for 5000 kilometres of motor roads was applied and the work of modernising and enlarging the sea-ports set in full swing.

The banking system was reorganised and made all-Turkish and the abolition of the capitulations had the effect of removing from foreign hands what was virtually a monopoly of Turkey's international trade.

At the end of 1933 Ataturk announced a Five-Year Plan for heavy industry. Although Turkey has suffered severely from the world crisis, her economic position is sound, she is rich in natural resources and well fitted to stand alone in a world whose national states seem mostly committed to a policy of economic self-sufficiency.

Turkey has overcome its isolation, after the World War, by a splendid policy of replacing neighbouring misunderstanding by friendship with not only each and all of the surrounding countries

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

but also with other countries of Western Europe. After the war Turkey developed close relations with Russia (but communism is strictly prohibited in Turkey). She had a treaty of friendship and arbitration with Russia, with a mutual pledge of neutrality and non-aggression, which was signed in 1925 and renewed in 1928, 1930 and early in 1936. In June 1929 a new agreement with France was reached whereby the Turco-Syrian frontier was once more revised to the advantage of Turkey. In 1930 a Greco-Turkish Convention was signed, and this was followed by a treaty of neutrality, conciliation and arbitration between the two states. In October, 1931, Athens witnessed the remarkable spectacle of the Greeks giving an ovation to a party of Turkish ministers. The fact that Turkey had reached an agreement with Greece made it possible for serious consideration to be given to a project for a Balkan federation. In 1933 this crystallised with the signature of the Balkan Pact. On July 18th, 1932 Turkey became a member of the League and her Minister for Foreign Affairs presided over the Extraordinary Assembly of the League in May of this year when Egypt was admitted to the League membership.

One of Turkey's notable triumphs has been to convert her traditional enemy, Greece, into a staunch friend. "*Ankara*", the weekly French paper of the capital of new Turkey, wrote on September 24, 1934

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

under the title "*Turco-Hellenic Friendship*": "The Turco-Hellenic Friendship is undoubtedly a great factor of the new history of the Near East. The sincere friendship established between the two countries, after long years of war and struggle, has united them in identical interests and this is an event which might well serve as an example for the world."

In Asia Turkey is on the closest terms, not only with Iran and Afghanistan but also with all the Arab countries previously her subjects (with the temporary exception of Syria, owing to the tension over the Sanjak question). Evidences of this friendship and alliance are the Four-Power Asiatic Pact between Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Iraq, the visit of the Shah of Iran to Ankara and Istanbul in June, 1934, and the recent visit of Afghan and Iraq ministers and the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan. A treaty of friendship and non-aggression, together with commercial and other agreements, has been concluded lately with Egypt. Efforts are being made to obtain the adherence of Sa'udi Arabia to the Four-Power Asiatic Pact of Alliance and non-aggression.

In the West as in the East Turkey can claim to be on the best of terms with practically every country in the world with whom she has dealings. Until February 1937 Italy might have been held to be an exception, but the conversations which took

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

place then between the Turkish Foreign Minister and the Italian Foreign Minister have succeeded in smoothing away at any rate some of the sources of irritation. Turkey knows well how to keep on good terms with Bolshevik Russia on the one hand, and with parliamentary Britain and France on the other. The visit of ex-King Edward VIII. to Turkey in 1936 served to foster the friendly feeling of regard for Great Britain. Also the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister to London strengthened still further the ties between the two countries.

A recent diplomatic success of Turkey which made a great impression on world opinion was the Montreux Conference of the Straits in July 1936 in which Turkey won the right to refortify the Dardanelles, her historic waterway, and became at a stroke a country of importance, whose goodwill is needed by Russia and by all the Mediterranean Powers. A strong Turkey is essential to stability in the Eastern Mediterranean. Turkey has become the mentor of the Balkan countries (Yugoslavia, Greece and Rumania) consulted by them on every possible occasion.

As regards the Turco-Syrian dispute over the Sanjak of Alexandretta, the Syrians imagined that England must be behind the Turks in their demands on Alexandretta. The Syrians have always been inclined to doubt the *bona fide* of Great Britain, believing that she consistently opposed the ending of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the French Mandate in Syria, for fear of possible repercussions in the mandated territory of Palestine. But Turkey's relations with Italy strongly need readjusting, and this may be possible through able statesmanship on both sides.

INDEPENDENT EGYPT

IN his first interview with the Governor of St. Helena, Napoleon said with emphasis: "Egypt is the most important country in the world." Perhaps this is one of the reasons why in 1875, Disraeli bought for four million pounds the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal Company, thereby drawing England into most active interest in the affairs of North-eastern Africa. But, in fact, the shadow of British imperial over-interest has been upon Egypt since its early aspirations towards independence. When under Mohammed Ali, Egypt was on its way to an empire of its own, it was Britain, speaking through Palmerston, that intervened to prevent it. Thus from 1830 imperial Albion paid specific attention to Egypt and since the building of the Suez Canal her eyes have ever been fixed on this focal point of communication.

For centuries Egypt was part of Turkey and even though occupied by Great Britain since 1882, she was still, down to 1914, under the technical sovereignty of the Ottoman Sultan. But no matter

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

to whom the Egyptians owed political allegiance, the British insisted that they had a special interest in the country. For a time this was disputed by France, but the Anglo-French agreements of 1904 left the British in control.

The British statesmen, ever since their first entry into Egypt, made definite pledges not only to the Egyptian people but to other nations that their entry into Egypt (a country that was not a domestic concern of the British Empire alone but which affected the whole world's prosperity and well-being) was only temporary, and that they were going to get out. Gladstone said very clearly, time and again, that it would be a shame and a disgrace if Great Britain were to go back on her word and remain indefinitely in Egypt. Yet Britain continued to stay there. Now during the period between 1882 and 1914, the situation in Egypt was, like the situation in other countries, subject to alien rule. There was the rise of a nationalist movement.

In 1914 the outbreak of hostilities between Turkey and Great Britain led Britain to declare a protectorate over Egypt, depose Khedive Abbas Hilmi II, who happened to be in Constantinople, and elevate his uncle to the throne as Sultan of Egypt. The protectorate was a unilateral proclamation not accepted by the Egyptian people. Further, England declared that "she agreed to take upon herself the sole burden of the war without calling on the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Egyptian people for aid therein." This promise was soon violated and the Egyptians fought by the side of the British during the World War. The British organised an Egyptian Labour Corps and resorted to forced recruiting. Dubious methods were used to exact aid and contributions. Egypt seethed with discontent. In 1918, at the end of the War, the Egyptians expected the promises to be kept. Already in 1915 Lord Grey had said at a press meeting in London: "Tell your peoples throughout the world that this war is a great moral issue. It is not for any material benefit of any kind. What we want, and the one thing that the British Empire wants alone, that which we are fighting and giving our sons to die for, is that every people, great and small, shall have the right and privilege to work out its own destinies in accordance with its own ideas after the World War is over." Then after the War came the world-wide movement for self-determination, as declared by President Wilson. National feeling ran high in Egypt. The leader of the Wafd "Delegation of the Egyptian Nation", Saad Zaghlul Pasha, resolutely asked the British resident in Cairo that Egypt should be allowed to present her case for independence at the Peace Conference of Paris. The Egyptians were not given a hearing at that conference. The British arrested Zaghlul Pasha and three of the delegation members and shipped them to Malta. This act forced the hand of the

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

Nationalists and precipitated the Egyptian Revolution of 1919. The insurrection was so severe that 60,000 soldiers under General Allenby were required to restore order. Eventually Zaghlul Pasha, the nationalist leader, was released and Allenby "helped" to form a new cabinet. In addition a mission of investigation under Lord Milner was dispatched to Egypt. The mission was boycotted and returned discouraged. The Egyptians under the able leadership of Zaghlul Pasha continued to clamour for complete independence. In its report the Milner Mission admitted that "the spirit of Egyptian nationalism could not be extinguished", and recommended that Britain should abolish the Protectorate and grant Egypt independence on certain conditions. But Lord Milner's proposals for a treaty of alliance with military safeguards and measures of legislative and administrative control were unhesitatingly rejected by the Nationalists.

Again unrest in Egypt developed into a full-fledged rebellion. Zaghlul was again arrested and sent to Gibraltar, and Allenby once more utilised his troops. The General also suggested that England proclaim the terms as a unilateral declaration. This was done on February 28, 1922. Although this declaration verbally acknowledged Egypt as "an independent sovereign State", its four reserved points namely: the right to defend the Suez Canal ; using Egyptian territory for military operations if

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

necessary; the defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference; the protection of foreigners and their interests in Egypt, and control of the Sudan, deprived the so-called "independence" of most of its value, and merely established a new basis for controversy. While the above four points, "absolutely reserved" by Great Britain pending future discussion, were left unsettled, the Egyptians were allowed to draw up a Constitution (1923), providing for the Government of Egypt as an independent constitutional monarchy with King Fuad as sovereign, a cabinet responsible to parliament, and a parliament elected by the people. Parliamentary elections were held in 1924. The Wafdists were overwhelmingly victorious at the polls and Zaghlul, who had returned home again, became Premier. Then in September, 1924 Mr. McDonald again raised the matter of an agreement with Zaghlul Pasha in negotiations which lasted only till the beginning of the following month; and ended in failure. Another crisis occurred in November, 1924, when General Sir Lee Stack, Governor General of the Sudan and Sirdar (Commander-in-Chief) of the Egyptian Army, was murdered in Cairo. The English used the opportunity to issue a severe ultimatum. They demanded an official apology, the punishment of the criminals, the suppression of political demonstrations, an indemnity of half a million pounds, and the immediate withdrawal of all Egyptian officers and troops from

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

the Sudan. They further announced the indefinite extension, for cotton cultivation, of the Gezirah irrigation area in the Sudan. This involved a serious threat to Egypt's water supply.

The Egyptians were further alarmed by successive British dam projects. The parliament, controlled by the Wafdists, appealed to the League of Nations for redress, but the Foreign Secretary, Sir Austen Chamberlain issued a warning that the affair was purely domestic between England and a colony! Accordingly, no member of the League brought up the Egyptian question. "Independent" Egypt was unable to secure a hearing for her case.

In 1928 Sir Austen Chamberlain negotiated with Sarwat Pasha, whose ministry was a coalition practically under the control of the Wafd. Later still, Mr. Henderson met Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha in 1929, and in the following year continued negotiations much on the same lines with Nahas Pasha—(successor of Zaghlul as Chief of the Wafd), who, like all his predecessors, had to return to Egypt empty-handed.

Since the declaration of February 28, 1922, the Anglo-Egyptian controversy has hinged chiefly on the reserved points. The Egyptian grievances were based on military occupation by a foreign Power, interference in Egyptian internal affairs, in the interests of the foreigners, and the limited participation of Egypt in the affairs of the Sudan. In these

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

restrictions lay the source of much discontent and even rebellion.

The military occupation was the sorest point. British protection was humiliating to the dignity of a so-called independent nation of 7,000 years of history, which felt that she should stand up before the world as the leading progressive Muslim State, and as the modern representative of a wealthy and illustrious civilisation that flourished on the banks of the Nile thousands of years before the name of Europe ever entered the minds of men. This is the rôle she aspired to fulfil. But it was humiliating to the Egyptians that foreign troops in uniform should parade in the streets of their principal cities and that they should be quartered in the ancient citadel of Cairo. This was exactly the same as it would be to the English if French or German troops were stationed in the Tower of London. But they also resented the fact that these troops could be used to enforce British interference with their internal affairs for the protection of foreigners, who made fortunes out of the country and were practically exempt from taxation. This feeling was naturally intensified when on occasions the British sent warships to Alexandria.

The privileged status of foreigners contributed in no small degree to Egyptian resentment. It is no exaggeration to say that it has been possible for a foreign resident in Egypt to be a wealthy man all his life and to die a millionaire, and yet neither during

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

his lifetime nor at his death to contribute a single piastre towards the administration, whose protection has safeguarded his wealth for himself and for his heirs. The revenues of the Egyptian Government have been derived mainly from the land-tax, which means that the poor Egyptian fellah (peasant) has practically been paying for the whole upkeep of the State. This privileged status of the foreigner has been due to the system of Capitulations.

Capitulations were originally 'letters of privilege' granted by the Sultans to Genoese and Venetian merchants who wanted to trade with and reside in, the Ottoman dominions. Later these were extended to other nationalities, until just before the World War fifteen nations enjoyed capitulatory rights. These rights included exemption from taxation or legislation, immunity from arrest and domiciliary visits unless a consular agent accompanied the police, and trial by the consular courts. Like other parts of the Ottoman dominions, Egypt inherited the capitulations from Turkey. The capitulations impeded the development of the country.

The Mixed Tribunals are a derivation of the capitulations. They were created in 1876 by international convention to deal with cases between Egyptians and foreigners, foreigners of different nationalities, and foreigners and the Egyptian Government. Their only connection with capitulations lies in the matter of legislation. While,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

generally speaking, new laws must be accepted by the Powers, certain legislation need only have the assent of the General Assembly of the Mixed Tribunals.

In the Sudan the Egyptians were in a position of inferiority as regards administration, defence, and commercial and immigration questions. The Condominium of 1899 existed only in name, as the Sudan was practically an English Protectorate, in spite of the fact that the Sudan was reconquered mainly by Egyptian troops and administered by Egyptian money.

Since 1924, after the Sirdar's assassination, Egypt was made to contribute annually LE. 750,000 towards the cost of administration of the Sudan.

Although Great Britain had declared Egypt to be an independent sovereign State, the Egyptians were surrounded on all sides by glaring evidence that their country was in reality scarcely more independent than at the time of the British Protectorate.

The outstanding feature in Egyptian politics during the past half decade has been the struggle of the Palace to gain a dominating influence in the Government. Since the unilateral declaration of 1922 there were three main powers in Egypt—the Wafd (which is the political organisation supporting complete independence) and leading the national movement, the Palace, and the British Residency. King Fuad gradually attempted to make the Palace grow in importance, playing off the Residency

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

against the Wafd with consummate skill. He was not disposed to accord his people a democratic government. His power increased when in 1930, the Wafdist, and therefore, popular ministry of Nahas Pasha gave place to a virtual dictatorship, with Ismail Sidky Pasha, the new Prime Minister, working in the closest cooperation with the King. One of the first acts of the new ministry was to abolish the Democratic Constitution of 1923, and to replace it by another, which invested with much wider powers the King and the executive authorities. The influence of the Palace made itself felt in every department of the administration. It was a virtual palace regime which continued for several years. In the spring of 1934 the failing health of Sidky Pasha, and also of the King, caused a situation which gave rise to a great anxiety. Sidky Pasha was replaced by a purely puppet Premier, Abdel-Fattah Yahya Pasha. In October, 1934, after King Fuad had been ill for months, there was a move of feeling against the continuance of what was practically the dictatorship of the favourite Ibrashi Pasha. The Prime Minister, Yahya Pasha, consulted the acting British High Commissioner, who suggested that the official post of Chief of the Cabinet should be revived as a check upon the favourite's power. This provoked a political crisis, Ibrashi had to go, and the Yahya cabinet resigned, leaving the way open for termination of the palace regime. King Fuad, after a period of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

stubborn opposition, realised that further obstinacy might lead to grave consequences, and accepted a cabinet of moderate Constitutionalists under Twefik Nassim Pasha as Premier, in November 1934. A few days later, in accordance with conditions laid down by Nassim Pasha before accepting office, the Constitution of 1930 was abrogated. The nationalists endeavoured to uphold the Constitution of 1923. The national discontent reached its zenith with the criticism of that democratic Constitution by Sir Samuel Hoare in his speech on November 9, 1935, in which he stated the British Government's view that the 1923 Constitution was not suited to Egypt's needs, and with the Abyssinian crisis. Immediately agitation and grave disturbances broke out in Egypt until, finally, the Constitution of 1923 was restored in December, following a petition submitted to the King by the "United Front" of the Wafd and the other parties. At the same time Egypt was determined to use the Italo-Abyssinian conflict and Great Britain's evident need for Egyptian cooperation in naval and military precautions, to secure from the British Government, recognition of Egypt's right to complete independence. England at last realised that such an opportunity of reaching a settlement with Egypt should not be ignored. This was followed by a resumption of Anglo-Egyptian treaty conversations and by preparations for elections, but three days

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

before the elections, (April 28, 1936), King Fuad died. He was succeeded by his son, the young King Farouk, who has already captured the imagination of his people, and will be officially invested with Sovereign prerogatives as the King of Egypt on July 29, 1937, when he will have attained the age of 18, calculated on the Hijra standard of lunar years.

The length of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations in Cairo and in Alexandria was ample proof of the difficulties encountered in reaching a settlement; but it also showed the determination of both sides to attain the object of their endeavours. British imperial interests and Egyptian nationalist demands were hard to equate.

The Egyptian delegation had for its head, Mustafa El Nahas Pasha, President of the Wafd and the Egyptian Premier, while Sir Miles Lampson, British High Commissioner in Cairo, led the British negotiators.

Among the reasons contributing to the success of the negotiations was the changed situation in the Red Sea and Upper Nile regions brought about by the Italian conquest of Abyssinia.

On August 26, 1936 in the Locarno room of the Foreign Office in London, a treaty was signed between Great Britain and Egypt which stands out as the most important event in Anglo-Egyptian relations since the World War. In view of the vicissitudes through which these relations have

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

passed, and the continuous series of difficulties which have stood in the way of an agreement satisfactory to both sides, this settlement may be regarded as a remarkable achievement.

The principal articles of the Treaty provide a settlement of the four reserved points in the Declaration of 1922. The military articles agree to the transfer of the British garrisons from Cairo and Alexandria to the canal zone, where the Egyptian Government will provide quarters and all improvements necessary for their accommodation. There the British military force, limited to 10,000 land troops and 400 air pilots, will remain until such time as both governments agree that the Egyptian army is capable of taking its place as guardian of navigation in the canal.

If at the end of twenty years, the present period of the Treaty, the Governments do not agree as to whether the Egyptian army is fit to defend the canal, the matter may be referred to the League Council or such other body as may be mutually agreed upon. The training of the Egyptian army will be facilitated by a British Military Mission; British armaments will be exclusively used but the British personnel serving with the Egyptian army will be withdrawn. Full provisions made for Anglo-Egyptian collaboration in case of war or international emergency, and the form of Egyptian assistance is specifically laid down. In either of these

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

contingencies Egypt will give Great Britain the use of ports, aerodromes and means of communication, and will provide all the legislative and administrative assistance in her power. Thus the Egyptians have made substantial concessions. Military roads and railways will be constructed or improved at considerable cost to facilitate the quick concentration of British and Egyptian troops as circumstances may demand. Adequate provision is made for the training of the British Air Force and military formations, both of which will be stronger than originally anticipated, and can be increased not only in the event of war, but during a period of danger or apprehended national emergency.

The Treaty provides for the permanent alliance between Great Britain and Egypt, subject to revision in detail as circumstances demand, but continuously preserving the principles of mutual assistance and military cooperation in the event of attack upon either country. Owing to the changed situation brought about by the greatly increased value of aircraft, the time needed to complete the agreed changes, and the possibility of a British naval basis in Cyprus, the military side of the Treaty provides adequate safeguards for the protection of British interests.

Henceforth the protection of foreigners will be entrusted to the Egyptian Government. The European Bureau of the Public Security Department,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

created to watch over the interests of foreigners in 1923 and which enjoyed great influence, has been abolished, and the City Police will, in the course of five years, become free of European personnel.

Moreover, the British Government recognise that the Capitulations are no longer in accordance with the spirit of the times and the present state of Egypt. It has, therefore, been provided that Egypt will with British support, approach the Capitulatory Powers with two suggestions: firstly, that the existing restrictions of Egyptian sovereignty in applying Egyptian legislation (including financial legislation) to foreigners should be discontinued; and secondly, that a transitional regime should be introduced for a period, during which the Mixed Tribunals would remain and exercise, besides the present jurisdiction, the jurisdiction of the Consular Courts. At the end of this period the Egyptian Government would be free to dispense with the Mixed Tribunals.

In Sudan, Great Britain has realised the necessity of Egyptian cooperation, owing to the new situation that has arisen on the eastern frontier. And so henceforward the Anglo-Egyptian Convention of 1899 will again regulate the administration of the Sudan. Egyptian candidates will have an equal chance of obtaining positions in Sudan services, for which there are no suitable Sudanese applicants. Egyptian troops will once more participate in the defence of a country for which they have so bravely

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

and triumphantly fought in the past. Egyptian officers will henceforth assist the Governor-General of Sudan in the discharge of his duties; and in question of commerce and immigration there will be no discrimination between British and Egyptian subjects.

Among other arrangements were those for the appointment of Ambassadors in London and Cairo and for Egypt's application with British support, for membership of the League of Nations, to which any differences arising over the interpretation of application of the Treaty are to be referred.

The treaty has been ratified by both the Egyptian and British parliaments by a practically unanimous vote.

Hafiz Afifi Pasha was appointed first Ambassador of Egypt to the Court of St. James in London and Sir Miles Lampson became the first British Ambassador in Egypt.

Ratifications of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty were exchanged in December between Egypt and British Government and preparations were made for an international conference to deal with the abolition of the Capitulations and reform of the mixed tribunals. The meeting of this important conference took place at Montreux on April 12, 1937 and the only serious opposition raised during the discussions was made by the French delegates. However, the Conference successfully terminated with the abolition of the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Capitulations on favourable terms, a feather in the ap of the Wafd.

Before the Egyptian Delegation to the Montreux Conference returned to Egypt, a special session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, convened to admit Egypt to the League, met on May 26, 1937 and unanimously admitted her. The delegates of a large number of countries (including all the Eastern Islamic countries which are members of the League : Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, India) enthusiastically welcomed the new member. On that occasion Mr. Eden in the name of the British Government paid a glowing tribute to Egypt, such as was never uttered by a British statesman since the British occupation of Egypt. He said :

"We are here fifty-two States assembled. Yet there is not one of us who is not in some measure indebted to the ancient and highly developed civilisation of Egypt. Long before some of the nations we represent had emerged from their primeval forests, Egypt had endowed mankind with the gifts of science and letters and, above all, with the treasures of her matchless art, which is still a source of awe and wonderment to this day . . . The admission of Egypt to the League sets the seal upon her independence and will, I am confident, mark the beginning of an epoch of fruitful collaboration between her and the other members of the League . . . We gain the support of a people whose ancient traditions and

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

culture are combined with a modern and progressive outlook towards the problems of today."

THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE

NINETEEN years after the British forces with their Arab allies captured Jerusalem and freed the Holy City from Turkish rule, British troops have been shipped last year from England to quell by force the Arab revolt against the rule of the British Mandatory Power and Zionism. The fact that the terms of the mandate specifically confirmed the Balfour Declaration of 1917, in which England had promised to establish in Palestine "a national home for the Jewish people" greatly disappointed the large Arab majority. The Arabs found little consolation in the parallel promise that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities." In fact, they failed to see how any part of the arrangement could be reconciled with England wartime promises and pledges of Arab independence. Nor, finally, were they made any the happier to discover that the first British High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, was a Jew. Further, upon his arrival in the Holy Land he made the following statement: "The policy of His Majesty's Government which I have come out to execute is to encourage the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

immigration of the Jews, until a point shall be reached—it may be fifty or a hundred years hence—at which their interests shall be sufficiently predominant to warrant the establishment of Jewish Government in Palestine.” (Cited by Philip S. Munford, in *Time and Tide*, October 24, 1936.)

The discontent of the Arabs with political, economic, and religious conditions crystallised in a violent anti-Jewish outbreak in 1929. The MacDonald Government rushed warships and airplanes to the scene and order was restored. A special British Commission of Inquiry, under Sir Walter Shaw, established as the cause for the troubles “the Arab feeling of animosity and hostility toward the Jews, consequent upon the disappointment of their political and national aspirations, and fear for their economic future.”

At any rate, the Arabs did enumerate certain specific grievances against both the British authorities and the Jews. They complained that the land legislation, by enabling the Jews to buy up large portions of land, was threatening the existence of the Arabs. They objected to the Government's favourable attitude toward Jewish immigration, for by 1930 the number of Jews had increased to more than 160,000. Palestine has been Arabian for thirteen centuries. Constituting still the majority of the land, the Arabs are denied many of the rights of citizenship. There is no parliamentary form of

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

Government in Palestine at all favourable to the Arabs. The Arabs have no share in the Jewish enterprises in the realms of labour, education, or hospitals. Zionism offers nothing to the Arab. The policy of settling thousands of Jews in Palestine against the wish of its inhabitants has been mainly at the point of the bayonet.

On the Jewish side it is fair to state that they are brutally treated in various parts of the world, and that they are carrying capital and enterprise to Palestine. But the Balfour Declaration was meant to favour "the establishment in Palestine of a national home" but not to give Palestine to the Jews, nor does it engage Great Britain to transform it into a Jewish State, nor promises to make Palestine as a whole the national home of the Jewish people. Palestine does not belong to the Jews, not even on historical grounds.

Obviously, close cooperation between Arabs and Jews was impossible so long as the Arabs felt that Jewish immigration was depriving them of land, work and political power. For as the Simpson Report pointed out, the Jewish Foundation Fund, which leased land to Jewish colonies, had forbidden Arab labour on its soil.

The British policy antagonised both the Arabs in Palestine and those who had cooperated with Great Britain against the Turks on the understanding that an independent Arab empire would be one of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the fruits of a war fought for the principles of self-determination. The Arabs feared that they would be dispossessed by the immigrating Jews. They had nothing against the Jews as Jews, and there is no question of anti-semitism here, because they also are a semitic people like the Jews. They had to oppose the British-Zionist policy. Discontent among the Arabs has been intensified by the measures of repression that have been used against their legitimate demands. The British policy in Palestine had only driven the Arab people into deeper conflict with the Jewish community.

In 1933 the problem of Jewish immigration assumed more formidable proportions owing to the anti-semitic policy of Nazi Germany. The Arabs were violently opposed to the terrific increase in the number of Jews. As recently as 1929, the Shaw Commission stated that Jewish immigration had been in excess of the country's power of absorption. Despite the fact that the Shaw Commission in 1929, Sir John Campbell in 1927, and Sir John Hope Simpson in 1930, all advised restriction in this matter of new settlement, the Arabs have seen as many Jews given permission to remain permanently in Palestine during 1934 and 1935, as entered during the entire first decade of the Mandate. In 1934, 42,359 came in, whilst in 1935, 61,854 new Jewish settlers were admitted into Palestine, a total of 104,213.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

Time and again the Arabs have been promised that the land sales by Arabs to Jews should be strictly regulated by the government, but very little has been done to prevent them. The Arabs could not believe in the efficiency of Commissions or that Britain has any intention of carrying out her promises to the Arabs. The last Commission which was sent to Palestine had been the Royal Commission sent last year under Lord Peel when Palestine was ablaze from end to end. The Arabs decided on April 19, 1936 to declare a general strike which developed into a revolution. The strike has been called off, following an appeal by four Arab Kings; it was at last terminated on October 12, 1936. The trouble was not Jewish *per se*, it was political Zionism. To put 40,000 Jews in one year and 60,000 the next into a country the size of Wales was simply asking for trouble.

It was a fact that Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organisation and the Jewish Agency, could at any time go into the Colonial Office, and almost dictate any order he liked or bring undue influence on the Palestine Administration. The Arab could rarely be heard.

The real trouble is, as said, political Zionism and the Arabs wish it to come to an end.

Besides the Arab and Jewish interests in Palestine there are the British imperial interests—Palestine today is the cross-roads of the world. It is an

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

essential halting-place upon the network of air-ways. Its port, Haifa, is the outlet for the oil of Mosul. As a naval base in the Eastern Mediterranean, Haifa is of outstanding strategic importance. It is the guarding of the Suez Canal, the opening of communications to the East, the piping of Mosul oil to port, which made the control of Palestine a matter of British imperial policy.

But neither British imperialists nor Arab statesmen nor Zionist leaders are satisfied with the position today. If the League of Nations were a stronger organisation, it would call the Mandatory Power in Palestine to account for this state of lawlessness. But the League is powerless to act, and the Western world is not sufficiently interested in peace in Palestine to intervene, though Palestine has a peculiar position in the world as the Holy Land of three world religions : Christianity, Judaism and Islam.

The deplorable plight of the Arabs in Palestine has inflamed the sensibilities of their brethren in other Arab countries and in the Muslim world at large. From every corner of the vast Islamic world protests against the British Zionist policy were made, and relief funds were poured in ; active sympathy and solidarity of Arabs and Muslims all over the world have been manifested towards the Arabs of Palestine. For whatever happens about them excites instant repercussions throughout the Arab world.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

There are certain other considerations which acerbate Arab opposition to British-Zionist policy in Palestine. The Jews have ignored Arab opinion. Then, again, the Arabs have seen that their people are capable of attaining self-government. Iraq is now independent and a member of the League of Nations. Syria has just reached a state of equality with Iraq. Both of them are of the same people as Palestine. All three started out on the road to nationhood as "Class A Mandates". Why is Palestine alone still "unfit" to govern itself? The natural answer that the Arabs find to this question is because of the Jews. The Arab world, in solidarity with the Palestinian Arabs, condemn the policy of Imperialism which Zionism has accepted, whereby the Jews have entered Palestine under the protection of the British forces and in defiance of the wishes of the Arab population. They regard the British Government's plan, by which a minority favourable to British rule has been artificially created in order to strengthen British imperialism and give plausibility to its claims, as detrimental to Arab and Jewish interests alike. The Zionists, instead of throwing in their lot with the Arab struggle for independence, have chosen to side with British imperialism. Britain in supporting the Jews, aims at blocking the rising tide of Arab nationalism, through the establishment of a solid Jewish block which will split in two the long chain of Arab countries stretching from Morocco to

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the Persian Gulf. But there is a feeling of intense Arab patriotism aflame today in Palestine. The Arabs are in most deadly earnest. No half measures will satisfy them in their struggle for emancipation from alien rule—both British and Zionist.

When Palestine was stirring with revolution last year the British Government decided to restore order by ruthlessly suppressing the Arabs, a peace of the Roman kind. She issued a new Order-in-Council which distinctly transformed Palestine into a totalitarian State under a military dictatorship. But we come back to the insistent question: what next? can these things be done without provoking bitter antagonism between Arabs and Jews and without destroying all prospect of that eventual understanding between the two communities which is the only hope for the future?

Great Britain is facing unusual difficulties in Palestine, for the provocation of the Arabs might raise grave problems for the British Government of more than Palestinian dimensions. It would be a calamity, for it must be remembered that all Arabs outside Palestine have their eyes on their brothers in the Holy Land which contains the *Masjid-ul-Aqsa* or the Mosque of Omar. Speculation is now centered on the solution which the Royal Commission (which was appointed last July to visit Palestine and investigate the causes of the Arab-Jewish conflict

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

which led to the dispatch of British troops for the restoration of order) will recommend whether the solution will be accepted. The Commission report has not yet been made public and the meeting of the Permanent Mandates Commission on Palestine has been postponed until the end of July, 1937. However, it is thought that the Royal Commission will recommend the split of Palestine into two distinct and separate units. The division of Palestine will be into one part to become a self-governing Jewish Dominion in the British Empire; the other to be an Arab State similar to Iraq with a suggestion to include in it Transjordan and Syria, under the sovereignty of Emir Abdullah of Transjordan. Prince Mohammed Ali, president of the Council of Regency of Egypt, has proposed to the British Government this fusion of Syria and Palestine into one Arab State.

Haifa would remain an international port under permanent British control; and Jerusalem, Bethlehem and other places of historic importance would come under a British Mandate.

The territory assigned to the Jews would be the coastal plain running down the Mediterranean seaboard from Haifa towards Ghazza and bounded at the northern end by the Sea of Galilee. Within this area, which includes the important port of Jaffa, Jews would be entirely self-governing and independent. It remains to be seen whether such a solution will be

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

acceptable to the Arabs, who claim their incontestable right for the land, and whether it will bring the much-desired conciliation of Jew and Arab in Palestine.*

END OF THE SYRIAN MANDATE

THE French rule in Syria has been as unacceptable as the British rule in Palestine. The sad story of the French Mandate of Syria—the northern part of the whole area historically known as Syria (including Palestine)—started with the occupation of Damascus in 1920. One of the first steps taken by the mandatory government was to subdivide the area

* Since the above was written the Report was issued on July 8, 1937 of the Royal Commission on the future of Palestine. It provides for the partition of Palestine into three parts, namely, a Jewish State covering the north and the west, an Arab State covering the east and south, and a territory under permanent mandate of Great Britain including the Holy Cities of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth. The Jewish State is to contain all the best and most fruitful land in Palestine and is to have the country's only deep-sea harbour, Haifa, while the proposed new British Mandate is designed to possess the strategically most important part of Palestine. Partition may be looked upon as an example of British imperialism, with Great Britain and the Jews as the gainers, at the expense of the Arabs. Partition is bitterly opposed by the Arabs who denounce the British Government as betrayers of their engagements and ask by what right they are robbed of a large important part of their country. The Arab world and the Islamic world at large are hostile to the partition. The Arabs claim the recognition of all Palestine as an independent Arab State, subject only to certain provisions for British imperial interests. They want Great Britain to terminate the Mandate forthwith. No doubt the Arabs would welcome an understanding with the Jews on that basis, so that the two peoples may live together in an undivided and independent Palestine. It must be frankly and freely admitted that the Zionist dream of an all-Jewish Palestine should be ruled out as an illusion.

The British Government have adopted the plan of the Report and have

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

arbitrarily into five independent parts: the Lebanon Republic (the coastal area, including all the chief ports); the Jebel Druse—the mountain district on the south; the Alauite country; the two small provincial districts of Latakia and Alexandretta on the extreme north of the coast; and the state of Syria, comprising all the remainder with its capital at Damascus. This arbitrary subdivision was regarded by the Syrians as a renewed application of the Roman maxim—*Divide et impera* and was the chief grievance of the Syrian Nationalists, who maintained that the French sought to establish their power by fostering particularism and in indulging in favouritism, especially with regard to the Lebanese.

This was the foundation of the policy pursued

taken the first necessary steps to get the approval of the League of Nations. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League was called to investigate the Report of the Palestine Commission and began its meetings on July 30, in Geneva. The British Colonial Secretary, Ormsby Gore, a Ziono-phile, pressed the recommendations of the Royal Commission before the Mandates Commission which will present its conclusion to the League Council in September. The decision then taken will determine the further action of the Government.

The Arab Higher Committee have appealed to the Arab States for their support. The Iraqi Premier, Sayyid Hikmet Sulaiman has expressed strong disapproval of the plan. Further, the Iraqi Government have officially addressed a note to the League in support of the Palestinian Arab claims, and this note has been brought before the Mandates Commission. It is reported that steps are being taken to convene a Pan-Arab conference to consider the Arab case in Palestine.

The partition of Palestine would involve incalculable danger to the peace in the Near and Middle East and the world at large. The political situation in Palestine remains critical.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

by the nation that held the mandate. It was then strengthened by the systematic introduction of foreign settlers belonging to different races, chiefly the Armenians, a receipt originated in Roman times. As the favoured officials of the French Government, as members of the police, as members of independent troops, which are controlled by the French and completely subordinated to French influence, they were rightly regarded as the executors of the will of France.

The first period of the Mandate Government comprised three and a half years of General Gouraud's rule. On his appointment as High Commissioner in November, 1919, he declared his principal task to be the economic restoration of the country. As he himself related, the words of the maker of modern Morocco, Marechal Lyautey, hovered before him like a guiding star: "As long as the French flag floats over the country it remains our duty to protect it, not only by military force, but also by increasing the contentment and prosperity of its inhabitants, as well as by strengthening its economic position." Fine words, without doubt. Unhappily they remained on paper. The High Commissioner's programme was to revive the exhausted agricultural system, whilst paying special attention to the interests of France. Serious difficulties, both social and economic, stood in the way. Gouraud relegated these serious economic problems to the background. He devoted himself to strengthen the political aims.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

On September 1st, 1920, he proclaimed in Beirut, in the name of the French Republic the creation of the State of Greater Lebanon. Such was the fulfilment of France's efforts to extend her colonial rule to the eastern Mediterranean basin. As was to be expected, the creation of the new state came as a heavy blow to the Syrian Nationalist movement. Riots broke out in protest and spread.

The policy of Gouraud's successors, Weygand, Serrail, de Jouvenel and Ponsot, followed, more or less, the programme of their predecessor, the pupil of Lyautey. The division of the country continued and by the summer of 1924-25, the five States, already mentioned, were in existence. The present High Commissioner, Count de Martel, was unwilling to stop short at that division. By a decree of January 3rd, 1936, he ordered a further parcelling out of Syria into 6, indeed 8, new independent provinces with independent financial and administrative organisations. The carrying out of this reform, however, was hindered by the rising in Syria in January-February 1936. The division of the country cannot be justified either on economic or administrative grounds. Precisely for reasons of economic and administrative usefulness, unity is a necessity. Political motives dictated the divisions, namely, the desire to weaken the power of the nation as a whole; the "States", parties, religious denominations (Muslims, Maronites, Orthodox Greek

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Christians, Melchites, Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics, Armenians, Druses, and so forth), minorities were played off systematically one against the other in the interests of French colonial policy. The mandatory government used the tactics of employing Christians as allies against the Muslims, but these were generally mistaken tactics, for the Maronites and also most of the other Christians, feel closely united with their Syrian home. They have proved this unity conclusively more than once.

The dissatisfaction found expression in risings which occurred from time to time, but the culminating point was reached with the rebellion of the tribes of the Druses in 1925. General Serrail, the High Commissioner, had antagonised not only the Druses, but a large section of the mandated population by his high-handed methods, and the rebellion quickly spread. The French bombardment of Damascus, which lasted from October 18th to the 20th, reduced entire districts in the city to ruins, an incident which shocked the civilised world. General Serrail was re-called and M. de Jouvenel, the editor of *le Matin* replaced him. With the exception of de Jouvenel, the High Commissioners pursued a policy not of understanding and cooperation, but of the strong hand and ruled the country as a conquered fortress.

Economically Syria suffered very severely under the Mandate. At one time there were 70,000 colonial troops (French) occupying the country. How is a

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

population of three millions able to support such an army? Also the French budget has been burdened of late years, by 160 million francs annually for the French troops.

The great economic schemes which were planned were abandoned in favour of higher politics. Also the French regime collected high taxes.

Syrian demands were clearly formulated. Above all the Syrians demanded their full independence, like other civilised nations. They also demanded the full exercise of their national sovereignty. They asked, therefore, to be admitted to the League of Nations, *i.e.*, they wished to be in possession of all the results of real juristic independence. The representatives of Syria recognised France's right to certain economic advantages.

These demands were accepted by Count de Martel after fifty days' strike of the Syrian people in 1936 as a basis for negotiations.

The basis of France's new policy in Syria is the idea of employing Syria's geographical and strategic conditions as a bridge between West and East. In endeavouring to take advantage of the political tendencies in Iraq and Iran, France is seeking to divert the commercial traffic of these countries from the harbour of Haifa to Beirut, from the Haifa-Baghdad road or railway to the contemplated Aleppo-Gabo-Iraq railway and the Damascus-Iraq road. France has strategic interests in these new

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

roads. Moreover, Syria is the most important station on her air-service between Indo-China and the Far East. This connection is to strengthen the traffic between France and Indo-China.

After several months of negotiation the Franco-Syrian Treaty was at last concluded (September 9, 1936) in Paris.* All the questions concerning the relations between Syria and France have been regulated. This treaty appears to follow closely on the model of the British-Iraq Treaty of 1930, though the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty signed in London (August 26, 1936) may also have served to inspire some of its provisions. The essential points are that Syria becomes independent, that France will support her application for membership to the League, and that she will be bound to France by a clear military alliance, which also provides for the appointment of French instructors to the Syrian army. The territories of Latakia and the Jebel Druse, whose separation from the rest of Syria has been a cause of much bitterness in Arab circles, will be included in the new State. The Mandate will be terminated in three years, when Syria is to enter the League.

It is regrettable that the Alexandretta question has arisen to complicate the situation. Historically, geographically and ethnically, the Sanjak is an Arab

*A Franco-Lebanese Treaty, which very much resembles the Franco-Syrian Treaty, has been concluded between France and Lebanon on November 13, 1936.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

territory with a Turkish minority. The Syrians regard it as a portion of their homeland. The solution that has been reached in the Sanjak dispute (through the League), though favourable to Turkey, has disappointed the Syrians who consider it a mutilation of Syria in the interests of a small minority and they are, therefore, emphatically against it.*

FRENCH NORTH AFRICA

IN connection with French policy in the Near East it may be convenient to consider along with it the situation in French North Africa.

In Tunis, it was the bad financial situation which drew there the European speculators, money-lenders, traders and concession hunters. This led in turn to financial rivalry between the Powers in their efforts to obtain influence and appropriate Tunis. At last, France undertook armed action in Tunis in 1881 and the French army compelled the Bey to sign the Treaty of Bardo, (May 12, 1881) recognising the French Protectorate.

The French conquest of Algeria began in 1830.

*The Sanjak of Alexandretta is to be a separate entity with internal independence, but with a monetary and customs union with Syria, and its foreign affairs controlled by Syria. Frontiers and territorial integrity are to be guaranteed, as are Turkish rights in the use of the port of Alexandretta. This settlement is agreeable to Turkey which clings to the vague hope that the Sanjak may pass into Turkish hands.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

The main resistance of the natives centered around the famous leader Abdel-Kader who possessed real military and diplomatic gifts and was the most formidable adversary whom the French ever encountered in Algeria. After a heroic struggle against Bugeaud, he finally surrendered to Lamoricière in 1847.

In Morocco France hastened her advance in order to forestall a German intervention. The Franco-British Convention of 1904 gave France a free hand in Morocco. In a secret arrangement which was not revealed until 1911 Morocco was divided into two zones of influence between France and Spain. Germany, although she had signed an agreement in 1909 recognising French political interests in Morocco, announced that a warship would be sent to Agadir, as events had proved the inefficiency of the Act of Algeciras. A firm stand by Great Britain, however, resulted in Germany's assurance that she had no territorial claims, and finally the Franco-German Convention of November 4, 1911, recognised the principle of a French Protectorate and admitted French military occupation where necessary. The Act establishing the French Protectorate was signed at Fez on March 30, 1912. Mulay Abdul-Hafiz, Sultan of Morocco from 1902 to 1912, abdicated after signing the treaty proclaiming Morocco a French Protectorate. He died in Paris in April, 1937.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

In the Spanish zone, the turbulent tribes refused to surrender. The Riff tribes, from 1919 onwards turned against the Spaniards. In 1921, the Moroccan leader Abdul-Karim stirred up resistance, won brilliant victories and inflicted a terrible defeat on the Spanish armies which were fighting a losing war against him. These Moroccan events led to a crisis in Spain, and, in September 1923, the constitutional government was replaced by a military dictatorship under General Primo de Rivera, who decided upon a general withdrawal. The evacuation increased Abdul-Karim's prestige.

In April, 1925 Abdul-Karim launched a furious attack on the French zone to the south. A regular and severe campaign ensued. So effective was Abdul-Karim's well-armed veteran infantry, that France found it necessary to combine with Spain against him, to reinforce her army of occupation, and to send Maréchal Pétain to organise the campaign against the Riffians. Abdul-Karim did not surrender until May 28, 1926 to France and was sent in exile to the Reunion Islands (Madagascar) where he lives at present.

In connection with the Spanish zone of Morocco, reference must be made to the recent developments in the situation consequent upon the present Civil War in Spain. In the onslaught against the government forces of Spain the Moors are the backbone of the nationalist army led by

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

General Franco. They have been in the vanguard of every important engagement, and have borne the brunt of the hard fighting. Some fifty thousand Moors are fighting in Spain in General Franco's lines, where they form the flower of his army. Without their aid the nationalists would have been crushed by the governmental forces. The Moors have no particular enthusiasm for Franco. Franco, it was reported, called together the Moroccan leaders, posed before them all as their liberator and promised them, as a reward for their inestimable help in his cause, an extreme measure of autonomy. Whether these promises and declarations of Franco and his generals are going to be sincerely put into effect by his Government, when the ultimate victory would be theirs, or whether they are temporary diplomatic measures only the future will show. There is at present a considerable feeling among the Moroccans whose country is once more experiencing great events. As is known, Morocco was predestined to fall into the clutches of the colonial Powers. Once more the intrigues of the Powers for Morocco, and especially to the Spanish zone, revived.

The French fear the repercussions of any autonomy which might be accorded to the Spanish zone, in their French zone, and consider the promises made to the Moors by Franco, in the words of Louis Massignon, the French orientalist and counsellor to

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

the Quai d'Orsay, as a "*théorie revisionniste dangereuse pour notre Maroc*" (revisionist theory dangerous for our Morocco!). Franco has further made attractive promises in a speech made by him to assembled tribesmen, to the effect that, if they were loyal to him, they would regain the lands of their forefathers in Andalusia, and that all the former mosques of Andalusia, such as those of Cordova and Seville, would be given again to Islam.

But the truth seems to be that the Moors have no real enthusiasm for either of the Spanish sides. They are, at present, powerless to achieve their strongest desire, *i.e.*, to make the most of the present weaknesses of their "protectors" by driving out all these invading Europeans from their own territory. They are merely waiting on events, hardly daring to show any enthusiasm for either side, lest ultimately they be penalised by bodily suffering and by having their lands and property confiscated by the winning side, whichever that may be. If they were free to choose they would side with neither combatant. They would look to their own affairs and get what profit they could from Europe's miseries. In this they make common cause with all Muslim countries under European rule, which aspire to freedom and look forward to their coming chance of liberation. For Islam today is very wide awake.

The subjugation of the unoccupied areas of Morocco was effected by Maréchal Lyautey who

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

consolidated French authority in the Protectorate. In order to gain the good-will of the natives he made conquest and conciliation go hand in hand. The French exerted themselves to construct railways and good roads. But for all the economic and social transformation, the French policy was far from satisfying the aspirations of the natives. Public instruction, for example, is still behindhand with the natives. The Moroccan Budget amounts to 920 million francs of which 400 millions are assigned to officials, mostly French. The policy of association formulated by Lyautey, which demands that the French Government should take the initiative in securing the cooperation of the Moroccans was set aside resulting in a growing disaffection to French rule. Moroccan nationalism was systematically repressed. With the aid of several French members of the Parliament, who belong to the left parties, the "Young Moroccans," led by Mohammed Hassan El-Wazzani, founded in 1932, a national review, "*Maghreb*" in Paris, to defend the cause of their country as well as of Algeria and Tunis.

In 1930 (May 16) the promulgation of the famous *Dahir* of the Berbers, which aimed at de-Islamising the Muslim Berber tribes and drawing them towards Christianity and French culture, provoked great indignation both in Morocco and other parts of the Muslim world. Further, Catholic missionary activity among the Berbers and in

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

Morocco generally is actively supported by the Government. The press has been gagged and freedom of speech denied. The economic situation has, of late, become much worse, adding to the general discontent.

The situation in Algeria, which is regarded as French territory, also calls for immediate reforms and for a changing of policy. Acute economic distress increased the trouble and incited the native to demand equal rights with their French rulers. With the advent of the Popular Front Government in France hopes were raised. But even a left wing Government does not grant independence, although they may make some concessions. Though some grievances have been remedied, particularly the economic ones and those connected with usury, which were responsible for intense anti-Jewish feeling among the Algerians, others are still outstanding.

The Algerian Muslim Congress of June, 1936 adopted a motion demanding categorically all civic rights for Algerian Muslims and parliamentary representation by their own elected members. The natives thus rightly claimed all the rights of a French citizen, but without abandoning their status as Muslims and their Arab traditions. "The Young Algerians," led by Messali Hadj, editor of "*El Ouma*," a French paper which appears in Paris, as the organ of the "*Etoile Norde Africaine*," made a sensational

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

speech in Algiers, on August 2, 1936, in which he proclaimed the struggle for the formation of the Algerian nation—a Muslim independent Arab Algeria. The Society of the Ulema of Algeria, with their organ "*Ash-Shihab*" and their paper "*Al-Basaier*," preach a religious Muslim revival as a basis for a liberated Algeria, as Arab and Muslim as the Muslim countries of the Near East.

In Tunis, again, the nationalist movement is anti-French and Pan-Arab. The Constitutional Party (*al-Hizb al-Hurr al-Dusturi*) leads the movement. The French policy of naturalisation of the natives is powerfully resented and opposed by the natives in Tunis. They are vehemently opposed to the French law of the 20th December, 1923 which offered French nationality to the Tunisians.

France looks upon her northern African Empire as an extension of France and as a reservoir of soliders, foodstuffs and raw materials. During the World War Algerian natives furnished France with 173,000 fighting men and 119,000 workers.

The *Comité d'Action Marocaine*, which represents the "Young Moroccans," leaders of the nationalist movement in Morocco, has drawn up an exhaustive and moderate "*Plan de Reformes Marocaines*" early in 1935 and presented it to the French Government, with the purpose of cooperating with the government if these necessary reforms were to be realised.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

A word may be said about the international zone of Tangier. France, Spain, and England proceeded to draw up an agreement (1923) establishing a rather complicated system of international government for Tangier, giving France a preponderant influence. Quite recently, the international status of Tangier has been the subject of diplomatic conversations between the interested Powers. France sought to gain a preponderant rôle in the Tangier regime, and this led the interested powers to call for a revision of the status with the aim of securing a permanently international status for Tangier.

To sum up: France is vitally interested in North Africa for continental reasons. The French have established a military occupation everywhere, accustomed as they are to settle difficulties by continental war. Their colonial policy differed with the administrators; Bugeaud, the conqueror of Algeria had for his motto "*Ense et aratro*" (by sword and plough). He meant to conquer Algeria first by force of arms, then to establish villages of French colonists who were not only to make an agricultural conquest of the country, but also a moral conquest by the assimilation of its inhabitants. Lyautey advocated the policy of association and cooperation with the natives, alongside with the policy of a protectorate. In Algeria we find the policy of assimilation, and in Tunis

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

a modification of the policy adopted for Morocco but with modification towards assimilation. There are some 1,200,000 Frenchmen as against some 17,000,000 natives. There is further the policy of religious conquest by means of Christian missions which are strongly supported by the government and a cultural conquest by spreading the French language to the detriment of the Arabic language and culture. These policies are meant to consolidate French influence and domination in North Africa. The protection of the frontiers of France from Calais to Nice is assured in part by native troops from North Africa which constitute a quarter of the peace-time effectives of France. The Berber policy of France aims at de-Islamising the Berbers and gradually Frenchifying them. France continues to pursue her policy of assimilation, especially in Algeria. The importance of North Africa to the French balance of forces, precludes the idea in the minds of French imperialist statesmen that these countries might be allowed to develop in such a way as to pass from French control. French statesmen, to whatever party they belong, always think of Morocco developing within the orbit of French sovereignty.

The point to be stressed in regard to the reaction of French North Africa to the ascendancy of France is that a new wave of pure Arab nationalism and Muslim religious revival is sweeping over

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

North Africa, as in other parts of the Islamic world. The Near East is forging a distinctive nationalism, which is spreading all around. It is penetrating into Tunis, Algeria and Morocco, where there are serious efforts undertaken to restore the Arabic tongue throughout North Africa and to revive the ancient Arab civilisation, purified and rejuvenated on Eastern Islamic lines. All these peoples have a close and binding link in a living re-awakened Islam. Thus the main tendencies are towards unity and nationalism. The tendency to unite draws its force from the general awakening of Islamic consciousness, and of the sentiment of common religious origin. This feeling is reinforced by the struggle against Western imperialism, which binds Orientals of different classes and countries. This reunion of the Muslims is mainly of a religious character and is in conformity with the universal Islamic spirit. The other tendency also strongly manifest in French North Africa is, as we have said, nationalism.

ITALY AND ISLAM

BEFORE we leave Africa, it will be convenient to make a brief review of the situation of Muslims in the new Italian Empire in Africa.

On September 28, 1911 Italy declared war, without any provocation, upon Turkey, in order to

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

invade Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Italy emerged from the war with these two provinces in her possession. Italy applied to them the old Roman name of Libya (Libia Italiana). The Arab tribes of the interior, under the leadership of the Sanussiyyah order, fiercely opposed Italian rule. The Sanussiyyah which was founded in 1835 by Mohammed ibn Ali al-Sanussi (died 1859), exercised a great influence in Tripoli and resisted the Italian domination for twenty years. The last chief of the movement was Syed Ahmad al-Sanussi who died in the Hejaz in 1934.

In the regions of the south, four oases (Aoudjila, Djalo, Jaghbub and Kufra), remained for a long time as an Emirate under the influence of the Sanussis. The Sanussis raised serious revolts against the Italians during the World War and after. But in 1922 the Italians launched a great offensive against the rebellious tribes, and sought to obtain "pacification by extermination".^{*} Then Italy, in her effort to control the oasis of Jaghbub, the last stronghold of the Sanussis, entered into negotiations with Egypt, with a view to have her cede this oasis to Italy. The oasis of Jaghbub contained the tomb of the founder of the order, Sidi Mohammed ibn Ali al-Sanussi. The protracted negotiations terminated with an agreement on December 6, 1925, signed at

^{*} This policy of crushing native resistance culminated on September 16th, 1931 in the execution of the seventy-year-old Tripolitanian leader, Omar Al-Mukhtar.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

Cairo. Under this instrument Egypt recognised the sovereignty of Italy over Jaghbub, while Italy ceded to Egypt the Ramleh wells north-west of Sallum (on the western frontier of Egypt). In February 1926, in virtue of the agreement, Jaghbub was occupied by a military column.

Italy's colonies in eastern Africa consist of Eritrea and Somaliland. In July 1924, Italy obtained from Great Britain—in fulfilment of article 13 of the London Pact of 1915—a strip of land amounting to 33,000 square miles of the western bank of the Juba, formerly part of British East Africa. Ever since its inception the Fascist government has taken the Italian colonies seriously; and has strenuously endeavoured to put them to practical use.

In 1920, by the Treaty of Sèvres, Italy was allotted a very large sphere of influence in Asia Minor, but the terms of the treaty were never accepted by the Turks. Further, the victory of Mustafa Kamal completely shattered the ambitions of Italy in Asia Minor.

Italy tried to push her North African possessions southwards. The Italian troops have reached the oasis of Kufra in the heart of the Libyan Desert, and have even gone far beyond it, driving a wedge between the French colony of Chad and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. A few "incidents" were easily arranged, and Italy found herself in complete possession of a huge triangle of 40,000 square miles,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

which had theoretically been Anglo-Egyptian area.

Mussolini's widely heralded trip to Libya in April, 1926 was a graphic example of his sustaining efforts to popularise the colonial programme of the Fascist government.

Neither Eritrea nor Italian Somaliland has provided a useful source of raw materials for Italian industries nor a profitable market for Italian goods. The chief importance of Eritrea and Somaliland lay in their proximity to Abyssinia.

The interior of Abyssinia, in contradistinction to the Italian possessions on its borders, has a climate more suitable for white colonisation and possesses greater potential wealth. Italy's policy with reference to Abyssinia has swung from one of military intervention, which characterised her policy in the latter part of the nineteenth century, to one of economic penetration. Italy has always attempted further territorial expansion at the expense of Abyssinia.

The tri-partite treaty of 1906, signed by Great Britain, France and Italy, recognised the special interests of the three powers in their respective spheres in Abyssinia. The conclusion in 1926 of an agreement between Great Britain and Italy defining their respective interests in Abyssinia marks the later development of Italy's policy of economic penetration in Abyssinia. Abyssinia, who became a member of the League of Nations in 1923, formally protested to the League, against this agreement.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

Mussolini's success in arousing the enthusiasm of his followers in the boundless possibilities of the Italian nation had developed in Italy a feeling of national pride which has had its reverberations outside the Italian peninsula. Mussolini revived the military policy in order to invade and annex Abyssinia. Thus on October 2, 1935, Italy opened fire on Abyssinia, without declaration of war. The Italo-Abyssinian War terminated in May, 1936 with the decisive victory of the Italians, and the departure of Emperor Haile Selassié, Negus of Abyssinia, from his country. With the conquest and annexation of Abyssinia, Mussolini declared that Italy's desire for colonial expansion was definitely satisfied. Throughout the Abyssinian war, a violent wave of protest against the Italian action swayed over a great portion of the Muslim world. A large section of the Muslim press supported the Abyssinian cause, on the ground of the historical friendly relations and the wide sympathies that existed in the early days of Islam between the Neguses of Abyssinia and the early Muslims who sought refuge in their country. It was also natural that the invasion and subjugation of an Oriental coloured people by a white European nation, with imperialistic ambitions, should arouse great resentment and opposition in the East which is struggling to shake off the heavy yokes of Western domination.

However, a careful study of the existing conditions in Abyssinia under the Emperors of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Abyssinia, since the eighteenth century, as regards the Muslim populations in Abyssinia, which constitute half of the total population, reveals the startling fact that the Muslims in this last independent country of Africa, have been subject to persecution, enslavement, ignorance and misery. The policy of the Abyssinian Neguses at Addis Ababa had been that of a secular hostility towards Islam. As soon as the Italians had advanced in their conquest of Abyssinia, the Muslim tribes of the Aoussa, the Danakils, and the Gallas, turned their arms against the Negus, whom they considered their bitter enemy.

The Italian policy under the Fascist regime has been expounded and fully discussed by a great Italian authority on the subject, Prof. A. Malvezzi, in his remarkable work "*La Politica Indigena nelle Colonie*," (Padua, 1933). We may briefly summarise his views in the following :

"Colonial tradition of Italian nationalism was taken over but greatly developed by Fascism. Fascism has made of colonial expansion one of the leading national problems.

"Did we go into Libya" he writes, "in order to make some contribution to the problem of emigration? Certainly, this was one object, but it was not the only one; . . . Our programme consisted in making of Libya a base for that vast expansion of Italy and Italianity in the Mediterranean and the Near East

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

which links us with our finest, our purest, our most glorious traditions. To strengthen our influence in Egypt, through territorial proximity, to open up relations with the other shore of the Red Sea down as far as the Yemen, taking advantage of the influence, the ascendancy, the personal and spiritual ties which Al-Sanussi had in those regions. On the other hand to avail ourselves of these same influences as well as of the network of interests of Sanussi's people, in order to keep alive the commercial contacts between the still undetermined southern borders of Libya and the towns on the coast—contacts which would have today furnished an irrefutable argument for asserting and proving, on the ground of the Hinterland principle that the distant regions in the interior form an integral part of the northern regions that are already ours. Was that a defeatist policy? Possibly, on the other hand a section of the press on the other side of the Alps took alarm when we sketched out a policy for an understanding with the Sanussi and they heaved the sigh of relief when we came to blows with him. . .”

He proceeds to give a picture of what lies before Italy as one of the colonial Powers of the future (pp. 338-342):

“Now that Libya has been pacified, Italy is free to develop the programme of native policy which is suited to a great Musulman Power, a policy both of spiritual and economic expansion. The

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

best Italian propaganda consists in making the condition of the Natives of our colonies better than those in the adjoining regions. No responsible person thinks at the present day that it would be profitable for Italy to pursue in Libya a sterile policy of oppression and domination... Meanwhile an indication of our purpose is given by the institution of Italian citizenship in Libya, which is undoubtedly the happiest solution of the problem which to others appears insoluble... As is often remarked, it requires some courage to advocate before the general public the desirability of a policy which caters for the good of the Natives. How often, in fact, does a man who does so hear protesting voices raised by those who crush him beneath—the formidable weight of a fearful accusation—Philo-Arabism!...

“But a man who has the wider view of the destinies of his country sees in this so-called Philo-Arabism a practical expression of the love of Italy in the colonies...”

Here a word may be said about the Yemen—the Arabia Felix of the Romans—which is now an independent State under Imam Yahia. Lying near the southern gates of the Red Sea, with its alleged mineral wealth, it is of strategic importance, and makes prospects of rivalry of the Powers. Italian interests were extended across the Red Sea into this Arabian kingdom. Immediately following the early failure of Sir Gilbert Clayton to negotiate an

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

agreement with Imam Yahia, the latter signed a commercial treaty with Italy granting her a dominant interest in the foreign trade of his country. While this treaty does not grant Italy a protectorate over Yemen (under Article I the Italian Government specifically recognises the full and absolute independence of Yemen and its sovereign), it gives her important commercial privileges. In view of the interest acquired by Italy on the Arabian mainland, Great Britain took steps to limit Italian aspirations in this new region by removing all possibility of misunderstanding which might have been provoked by the activities of Italian diplomacy in direct negotiations. At a conference in Rome some years ago between Britain and Italy, both parties agreed to do nothing to disturb the present *status quo* in southern Arabia. A treaty of friendship was concluded in 1934 between Great Britain and Yemen.

On the other hand, there has been in a large section of the Arabic press, in the last few years, expressions of anxiety regarding alleged Italian designs on the Yemen and a fear that her economic penetration would be a step towards political interference. Their general tone is that of directing the Imam's attention to strengthen his defensive forces in view of possible future dangers, and of saying to Italy: "Hands off Yemen!".

The new policy which Italy has recently been following towards Islam has been publicly manifested

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

during the recent spectacular visit of Signor Mussolini to Libya (March, 1937). Mussolini, during this triumphal visit, seemed to be following the tradition of Napoleon and Wilhelm II in claiming to be the special friend of Islam and the Muslims. His trip to Libya was not only undertaken for reasons of a political and military character, but also with the object of winning the sympathies of the Muslim world.

The new policy of Italy towards the Muslim native element has had as its basic principle its controlled autonomous development. A programme embodying an immediate absorption of, or a clear-cut separation from Islam, was rejected. A middle course was chosen as the one which could give the best and quickest results.

While Mussolini was in Libya, an official Italian memorandum was issued describing Italy's new policy towards Islam, both in her colonies and elsewhere as being one of strong sympathy.

With the annexation of Abyssinia, Italy has now a Muslim population in her colonies of about seven millions.

Referring to Muslim unrest in Palestine, Iraq, Syria and Egypt, the above-mentioned document declared: "We state without fear of contradiction that no Power has ever had a more strongly sympathetic policy towards these Islamic States and their legitimate claims than has Italy.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

"Italy emerged from the Versailles Treaty without a mandate, and was thus under no obligation towards the other Powers, which had freely disposed of the Muslim Orient. She was able to profit from this freedom of action and to attract the friendship of the independent Muslim States and to collaborate with them, politically and economically."

Further, the enthusiasm of the population of Libya for Italy's religious policy, of which there have been eloquent signs on the occasion of the Duce's recent journey, is due, the memorandum claims, to a policy based on the following points :

"Complete religious liberty ;

"Discouragement of missionary activities on behalf of other faiths ;

"Respect for the functions of the Kadis as religious judges of Islam ; and

"Restoration of old mosques and the building of new ones."

Italy seems to pursue a similar religious policy in Abyssinia: Marshall Graziani, the Viceroy, addressed an assembly of Muslims in Addis Ababa on August 9, 1936 and said among other things :

"Islam has in Italy a sincere friend. Respect for Islam, respect for Muslim traditions are fundamental elements of Italian policy towards the Muslims of Northern Africa and of Italian East Africa and are felt equally by the Government as by any citizen whatsoever."

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

And not only towards the Muslims of her territories does Italy show friendly sentiments, for these are displayed also towards the Muslims who live in independent States. The treaties of friendship which link her with the Islamic kingdoms of Sa'udi Arabia and Yemen ; the flourishing trade which exists between her and the countries of the Near East ; and the friendly policy towards Egypt (most recently shown at the Montreux Conference for the Abolition of the Capitulations) are signs of the new Islamic policy followed by Italy.

Albania is another Muslim country in which Italy has vital interests. Today more than two-thirds of the total population are Muslim, and the country is nominally independent (and a member of the League of Nations) under the Muslim king Ahmad Zogu, who was proclaimed King of Albania, (September 1, 1928). There has been during the last few years several uprisings and reactions against Italian influence in Albania. Actually Albania is a quasi-protectorate of Italy which lends King Zogu the money to pay his army, build roads, and otherwise attempt the modernisation of his backward country. Italian economic penetration in Albania arouses suspicious resentment.

THE NEW KINGDOM OF IRAQ

LONG before the World War Great Britain had

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

many interests in the Mesopotamian basin, and for over a century the Persian Gulf has been under British domination. Great Britain used the occasion of the war to seize Iraq along with other sections of the Near and Middle East.

The loss of Syria as the outstanding hope of Arab national sentiment after the War, resulted in a marked shifting of that sentiment to the next promising area of Arab freedom. Receding into Iraq, the determined Arab nationalists projected their aims anew. British foreign policy had to adjust itself accordingly. The mandate for Iraq was assigned to Great Britain in 1920. But the status of Iraq was not definitely settled until 1924. In part the delay was due to the long oil negotiations with the United States. But it was due also to difficulties in Mesopotamia. The Iraqis were mistrustful of their new masters in the guise of tutors.

In Iraq, as in Syria and Palestine, there were Arab nationalist leaders who desired union or confederation of the Arab states, and bitterly resented both the breaking up of the Arab area into several mandates and the subjection of their country to British administration. During the years 1919-20 this resentment took the form of a serious rebellion. The British Government sent Sir Percy Cox, as High Commissioner to Iraq to conciliate the natives. He enacted legislation and directed British administration. He appointed an

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Arab cabinet with British advisers attached to each ministry. King Feisal, put on the throne by the British, was crowned on August 23, 1921 as King of Iraq, and proved an able statesman. The years 1920 to 1924 was the period of strenuous fighting against the Mandate, with Britain trying to negotiate the treaty which should best suit her policy. The first draft did not explicitly abolish the mandate and there was an immediate outburst of feeling. The Treaty was signed in October, 1922. Instead of the Mandate, a new "basis of alliance" was constituted and Britain recognised Feisal as a constitutional king of Iraq. There was no definite recognition of Iraq as a sovereign state. The treaty was fiercely opposed by the Nationalists and a violent anti-British sentiment was stirred up in the country. Britain finally applied force and compelled its ratification in June, 1924.

In December, 1925 the Council of the League of Nations had accepted the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry for the relinquishment of Mosul to Iraq, and the signing of the tri-partite Treaty of Ankara, 1926, met the international legal requirements involved. The legal acquisition of Mosul to Iraq was thus completed.

A new Anglo-Iraqi treaty was negotiated and signed in January, 1926. In 1927 a further effort was made to revise the treaty and a new treaty was signed on December 15 of that year. For the first time an Anglo-Iraqi treaty expressly recognised Iraq

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

as an independent state. Britain undertook to support Iraq's application for membership to the League in 1932. The treaty, it was understood, would not be ratified until the financial and military agreements had been revised and approved by the League. So began a further stormy period of Anglo-Iraqi relations. Further modifications in the Treaty were effected. But in view of violent anti-British feeling, a new treaty was indicated in 1930. Negotiations terminated in June, 1930, and the treaty was ratified by a specially elected parliament. The salient points of the new treaty were: provision for an offensive and defensive alliance; Britain to have right of way through Iraq for her armed forces; the continuance of British air-bases west of the Euphrates; the establishment of Iraq's sovereignty and her assumption of responsibility for her internal affairs. The treaty was for 25 years. With the treaty of 1930 the High Commissioner became an Ambassador and the permanent doyen of the diplomatic corps in Baghdad.

All this time the keynote of Iraq's policy has been to obtain as much as possible for the new state. Britain's policy has been to hold the essentials and leave the rest.

When the Assembly of the League of Nations met on October 3, 1932, Iraq was welcomed into the League as a fully independent sovereign State member, and, on that day, the mandate came to an end.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

There can be no doubt that it is mainly to King Feisal that Iraq owes her present political status. He steered her into independence which was achieved in 1932. He died while in Switzerland where he had gone to recover his health, on September 8, 1933. He was succeeded by his son King Ghazi I. Feisal was the champion of the project of Arabian union.

The new State of Iraq with some three million people made excellent progress under King Feisal. Communications by rail and road were improved beyond recognition. The hospitals and health services were extended. The police became a smart force. Irrigation and agriculture were put on a new scientific basis. Education was taken in hand and schools were opened everywhere. All minorities, irrespective of creed or race got a square deal.

Iraq is potentially rich and has no public debt burden. The oil revenues amounting to a minimum of 800,000 pounds (gold), by way of advance royalties, are considerable. Although oil has made a dramatic and highly spectacular entry upon the scene in Iraq, agriculture, as always in the past, remains the staple industry in the country. Iraq is also entering upon a comprehensive industrial policy.

Conditions went on their normal course until the military *coup d'etat* of September, 1936 when General Bakir Sidqi overthrew the Yassin al-Hashimi's cabinet and Hikmet Sulaiman assumed the office of Prime Minister. The present *regime* has found it

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

expedient to maintain the treaty with Great Britain though perhaps less Anglophile than the last. In an official statement of policy the present Government, which is thought to have strong leanings towards the Kamalist *regime* in Turkey, the Cabinet declares her intention to intensify friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries such as Turkey, Iran, Sa'udi Arabia, Afghanistan and the other Arab countries. Government spokesmen point to those who denounce the present Government as following a policy of dissolidarity towards the Arab countries that the Baghdad government is studying the plan of an "Asiatic Pact" which will reinforce the moral and political unity of the Arabs. Further, that Iraq has done good service to the Arab cause in at least four special cases: 1. It has intervened with Turkey to smooth out the Alexandretta conflict with Syria; 2. she has intervened with her ally, Great Britain, to settle the Palestine conflict; 3. Iraq was the first state to invite Egypt to apply for the League membership; 4. Iraq took the initiative of bringing the Arab States together by sending good-will delegates to Sa'udi Arabia and Yemen.*

* Since the above was written General Bakir Sidqi, Chief of the General Staff and strong man of Iraq, who carried out the *coup d'etat* of September, 1936, was assassinated on August 11th, 1937. Sayyid Hikmat Sulaiman, Prime Minister, and his Cabinet resigned on August 16th; Gami El Madfa'i has become the new Prime Minister. His Cabinet pursues a Pan-Arab policy and is firmly in the saddle.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

TRANSJORDANIA

TRANSJORDANIA was among the parts of the dismembered Turkish Empire handed over to Great Britain to be administered under Class A Mandate. It lies along the east bank of the Jordan river from the southern boundaries of Syria to the head of the Persian Gulf. It was established mainly to act as a buffer state between Palestine and the neighbouring Arab lands to the east and south; Zionists, supported by imperialist policy have looked upon Transjordan as a potential land where surplus influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine may overflow, though this, of course, would be violently opposed by the Arabs. Part of the Hejaz Railway passes through Transjordan and is therefore under British control. Further, Britain has violated previous engagements regarding the Red Sea port of Aqaba which undoubtedly belongs to Hejaz and, therefore, to Sa'udi Arabia. Aqaba is a strategically important spot.

THE REBIRTH OF ARABIA

THIRTY years ago Arabia was divided between three ruling families: the Sherifs, ruling over the Hejaz, Al-Rasheed over Najd and the greater part of the Arabian Peninsula, and Al-Sabah over the remainder. Perpetual disorder and chaos were the general rule

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

throughout the length and breadth of Arabia. The tribes warred against each other, attacking and exploiting each other's territory. The Bedouins menaced commerce and caravans, they knew no law but plunder. In the midst of this general chaos Arabia's young man of destiny appeared. This young man was Abdul Aziz ibn Sa'ud. In the space of thirty years he extended his rule over the whole of Najd, Hasa, Katif, Assir and the Hejaz, conquering one Emirate after another. Today Ibn Sa'ud is overlord and master of a united Arabia with some five or six million subjects, and a realm larger than France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Luxemburg combined. The unification of the Arabs is the work of this great Wahhabi King. Beginning as Sheikh of Najd, in Central Arabia, he, before the War, had annexed the Turkish province of Al-Hasa on the Persian Gulf. Subsequently he subdued the Ibn Rashids in the north of the Peninsula with Haql as their capital. In 1924, he drove King Hussain whom the British placed as master of the Hejaz, into exile and by 1925 had completed the annexation of the Hejaz land. In 1930 he incorporated into his kingdom the land of Assir, until then a Protectorate. He completed the process of establishing his hegemony over the Peninsula when he beat the troops of the Imam of Yemen, in 1934, conquered a part of that unconquered kingdom and, in occupying almost all the eastern coast of the Red Sea, was about

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

to control the route to India. But he, in June, 1934, established his future relationship with his neighbour sovereign of Yemen, on the basis of Arab brotherhood and Muslim friendship (the Treaty of Al-Taif).

On January 8th, 1926, Ibn Sa'ud entered Mecca as a conqueror and was proclaimed King of Hejaz, Najd and Dependencies (Sa'udi Arabia). During one decade of his rule, he has introduced more changes in Arabia than it had known during many centuries of its history.

In order to be able properly to understand the greatness of the change that the Wahhabi King has wrought it is necessary to have some idea of the state of the country under his predecessor King Hussain. King Hussain was a despotic autocrat and ruled his kingdom without the help of ministers. The country was overrun by thieves and brigands, and life and property were not safe. The different tribes were continually at war with each other, the pilgrims were overtaxed by the government, and cheated, robbed, and even murdered by Hejazi Bedouins. The sanitation of Mecca and Medina was defective. Water was scarce and there were no hospitals or good qualified doctors to be found in the pilgrimage area, and so mortality was very high among the pilgrims. The charges for the camels—which were the sole means of transport—and the rents of houses were exorbitant.

The custodians of the tombs of saints used to

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

fleece the sick and the suffering by selling them charms and talismans. Except a few mosque schools there were no educational institutions in the country.

Ibn Sa'ud has given Arabia a well-organised government, with departments of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Public Instruction, Army, and Religion. The Viceroy—who is at present Prince Feisal, his second son—is helped by an executive council which is composed of the heads of the various Government departments and notables nominated by the King.

The Finance Department has been created, and all tithes, taxes, and customs duties are paid into the Treasury. Municipal, village and tribal councils, composed of notables, and headmen chosen by the people to advise the Viceroy and carry out his orders, have also been set up in some of the towns and villages. The tribal government has been centralised by placing the Sheikhs under the authority of the Meccan Government. The Sheikhs are now made responsible for all crimes that take place within their jurisdiction and so in their own interests they have suppressed brigandage and greatly reduced theft and murder. Life and property are now as safe in the Hejaz as in any other modern country. To unify his country the King has built many new roads, and a large number of motor-cars have taken the place of camels for transporting goods and passengers. In the days of King Hussain .

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

there were about twenty motor-cars in the country, all of which belonged to the King himself, for no one else was allowed to have any. But now there are between 1,200 and 1,300 motor-cars, most of which belong to private individuals. There is a motor-bus service between Jeddah and Mecca and between Mecca and Riyadh. Formerly, when the camel was the sole means of transport, it took twenty-two days to go from Mecca to Riyadh, but now one can make that journey in three days by motor-bus. The idea of repairing the Hejaz Railway, south of the Ma'an station which had suffered damage during the War, and placing it under a Muslim board of control, is being jointly considered by the governments of Sa'udi Arabia, Transjordan, Palestine and Syria. The project for building a railway from Jeddah to Mecca which was formed by some Indian capitalists three years ago, but later on dropped for lack of funds, might perhaps be taken up by the Sa'udi Arabia Government itself, or by some other foreign Muslim prince or capitalist.

King Ibn Sa'ud has signed the International Postal Convention, maintained and extended the wireless system of his predecessor King Hussain,* and introduced the telegraph, telephone, and modern system of medicine. Travelling dispensaries are sent to the villages and among the tribes, with doctors to instruct people in simple remedies.

* Recently a broadcasting station has been established in Mecca.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

King Ibn Sa'ud has based his rule on the Quran and the Traditions of the Prophet, and so he invariably consults the Ulama before introducing any reforms in the kingdom. Regarding Islam, he spoke: "For Islam I live. For its defence, if every man will desert me, I shall fight single-handed; I shall do so, for Islam is both a source of strength and an instrument for peace; it is based on justice, and justice wins. So will I,—I, the humble servant of Islam."

But although Ibn Sa'ud seeks the advice of the Ulama he does not always follow it, if they show themselves incapable of understanding the beneficial introduction of modern inventions in the country. When, for example, he asked them whether he should introduce the motor-car, telephone, telegraph, etc., in the kingdom, some of them told him that as these things were "the devil's inventions" they should not be introduced, he ignored their advice and introduced them.

But when their criticisms affect him personally, and not the welfare of the country, then he is quite deferential to them. So, also, when six years ago they said that the celebration of the anniversary of his accession to the throne of the Hejaz was "an unnecessary innovation" he at once gave orders that it should not be celebrated any more.

He had introduced the modern system of education in his kingdom. In 1926 he created his

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Ministry of Public Instruction and appointed Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, the present Sa'udi Arabian Minister in London, as its head. Hafiz Wahba has established schools in all towns and in some of the larger villages where religious education is combined with a study of Arabic, general and Arab history, geography, mathematics, and elementary science. And religious education does not consist (now) in merely learning the Quran and other religious books by heart as it used to do in the past, but in applying them to life. A technical school, where carpet-weaving, shoe-making, carpentry, and other trades are taught, and two girls' schools, where students learn domestic science and nursing have also been established at Mecca.

One of the greatest achievements of King Ibn Sa'ud is his successful efforts to transform the Bedouin nomads into sedentary peasants. He conceived the excellent plan of establishing villages wherever water existed. In these villages he "planted" Bedouins, hoping by this means to make them forsake their wandering life and become settled, orderly members of the community. His next step was to appoint men of learning to teach these people their religion and instruct them in their duties to God, their King, and their fellow-men.

The wisdom of this enlightened policy is shown by its fruits. It is now hardly possible to recognise in the agriculturists of today the Bedouins of

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

yesterday, who have, in addition, acquired so much self-esteem, determination and courage, and who are absolutely fearless of death, and have earned the name of "*al-Ikhwan*" or "the Brethren."

Thus the Bedouins are encouraged to take to agriculture, and modern agricultural and irrigational machinery is imported by the Government from abroad for their benefit.

In order to develop the mineral resources of the country, the King has engaged a number of Western experts. Investigations have and are being made to ascertain the exact extent of the mineral wealth of the country, and how best to develop it. Gold has already been found. Two years ago a concession to exploit all the mineral resources of the Hejaz, except oil, was granted to an Anglo-American Company, called the 'Sa'udi Arabian Mining Syndicate' and the concession to exploit oil has been given to the Standard Oil Company of California. More recently the Iraq Patroleum Company has been given a concession for sixty years to exploit oil along the entire Red Sea Coast from Transjordan to Yemen, including the Farsan Islands but excluding Mecca and Medina. The concession given to the Standard Oil Company of California is for Hasa only.

A great deal has been done for the comfort of the pilgrims upon whom depends the main revenue of the kingdom. Motor-cars are now available for them at Jeddah and the charges for them as well as

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

for camels have been fixed so as to prevent overcharge. The sanitation of Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, and Yambo', the four cities with which the pilgrims are most concerned, has been greatly improved and their water supply extended. All pilgrims are obliged to produce a certificate of good health, to boil their drinking water, vaccinate against small-pox, and inoculate against cholera.* They are allowed to carry umbrellas, a boon for which they cannot be too thankful in that land of torrid heat during the pilgrimage season. Many new wells have been sunk, and shelters, with supplies of fresh water and medical attendance, erected on the road to Mount Arafât. Hospitals with from fifty to three hundred beds, and staffed with properly qualified doctors, have been built in the pilgrimage area. The long sea-voyage for the pilgrims from Iraq and India is being replaced by a much shorter land journey by motor-bus from Najaf to Medina. The rents of houses, rates, and other dues which the pilgrims have to pay for protection and assistance have been fixed and the right of the Harb tribe to levy duties on the pilgrims has been annulled. And on arriving at his port of destination the pilgrim is met by a guide who sees him through the performance of his religious ceremonial as well as his business affairs.

* Cf. J. Couturat : L'Organisation sanitaire moderne du pèlerinage du Riédjaz, in *La Presse Médicale*, March 6, 1937.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

The army has been greatly improved and an air force brought into being. To create the air sense in his people the King has established an air club at Taif.

When King Ibn Sa'ud seized Mecca and was proclaimed King of the Hejaz, the majority of the Muslims outside Arabia thought that he would be intolerant and unprogressive. But they have been agreeably surprised to find that they were mistaken. He is most tolerant to the non-Wahhabis and allows them to drink coffee and smoke tobacco. Nor are any more religious buildings destroyed or desecrated at Mecca as they were at the time when he captured the city in 1926. He has set up Committees of Good Morals at Mecca and Medina to suppress vices and also to prevent the custodians of the saints' tombs from fleecing people by selling them charms and talismans. These committees also encourage the inhabitants to keep the streets of their city clean, pave broken roadways, and repair drainage.

Great as all the above reforms may be, they are as nothing compared with the law, order and security which King Ibn Sa'ud has established throughout the length and breadth of his vast dominions. Indeed, the King's wisdom lies in the fact that he was alive from the very beginning to the fundamental truth that until law and order were established no reforms would be possible. Once a homeless wanderer, Ibn Sa'ud is now lord and master of a great state of his

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

own building. To a region long afflicted with political chaos, he has brought unity and peace. He is thus a great empire builder who, in the words of one of his biographers "straddles the centuries. One foot is in the early decades of Islamic Arabia, where he rules like a Caliph. The other is in the twentieth century, during which he negotiates with, and entertains, Western diplomats." ¹

IRAN UNDER RIZA SHAH PAHLEVI

ONE may rightly assume that there is no connection between Persia fifteen years ago, when it was regarded as a buffer state between rival Western Powers, politically decadent, agriculturally and industrially atrophied, torn by internecine quarrels, lacking security, stability and peace, and Iran of today, the only master of her own destinies, conscious of her forces of intelligence and work, reborn and transformed into a modern, independent, progressive State, under the impelling ægis of her hero, Riza Shah who was capable of carrying through a programme which upset the decadent modes of past centuries and made Iran stand on her own feet, and who hopes to reshape the great and glorious Iran of the past.

The year 1922 saw the rise of the maker of modern Iran who in the short space of three years

~ 1. Kenneth Williams in *The Daily Mail*, May 8, 1934.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

not only transformed Iran into a modern State, but rose himself from a trooper to Shah. In December, 1924, the Madjliss (Iranian Parliament) unanimously deposed Ahmed Shah of the Kajar Dynasty and proclaimed Riza Shah, as Shah-in-Shah, founding the Pahlevi Dynasty.

Between his accession to power in 1922 when he was Commander-in-Chief and Minister of War—and 1928, the Shah reorganised the army, established the authority of Teheran over the outlying tribes and finally announced in May, 1928 the abolition of the system of capitulations, under which foreigners enjoyed extra-territorial rights.

After 1928, the guiding principles of the policy of the new Iran were those of modernisation and independence. The rights of foreigners were watched with jealousy lest they should prove incompatible with the interests of the country.

In Iran, particularly, has the genius of Kamal Ataturk been appreciated and lauded, and Teheran is now looking to Ankara and endeavouring to fashion itself in the image of the Anatolian town. Using Turkey as an example, the Shah proceeded to achieve national sovereignty at home and recognition of full national independence abroad. He realised that independence, once it had been won, could not be maintained unless Iran put her house in order by adopting modern methods. His programme of discipline has undoubtedly revitalised Iran.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

The Shah's first requirement was to reassert the central authority, and today the solidarity of the Central Government and the extent of its authority exercised in every corner of Iran is very manifest.

An all-Iranian national army was created and placed under the Ministry of War. In 1925 the Madjliss enacted compulsory military service of two years, with exemptions for men with university education. Today Iran has a standing army, well equipped and well trained, of about a quarter of a million men. Every man at the age of twenty-one has to serve. A new military college has been established for the training of officers. As the training is gratis and the pay of officers is good, the army as a career is popular among the upper and middle classes.

Iran has also a small navy in the Iranian Gulf and the nucleus of an air force. The defence forces are under the direct supervision of the Shah, free from parliamentary control.

The judicial reforms were important. New law codes were promulgated in Persian. The civil code effects a reconciliation between the Shar'iat Law and the Code Napoleon. The Penal Code guarantees individual liberties. The Commercial Code is designed to encourage economic development.

A general system of education has been launched; special evening classes have been opened for uneducated men. A national scheme for physical fitness

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

is in the forefront of the Government programme. There are at present nearly 1,000 Iranian students in Europe and America most of whom were sent at the expense of the Government. The Fundamental Law on Education states that elementary education in Iran is compulsory. In all the thirty-three provinces of Iran the modern education of girls as of boys is being developed. Illiteracy is diminishing.

Great efforts are made to restore and modernise the economic life of the country. Industrialisation of the new Iran has given the people increased confidence in themselves and has quickened their curiosity and their ambition. About forty new factories have been started of which the most important are for spinning and weaving of cotton. There is also a dyeing and printing plant. The largest cotton factory is at Chahi in Mazandaran. An important share in it is the personal property of the Shah himself. At the dedication of this factory the Shah said:

“Even if this factory, which cost one and one-half million tomans, never makes a cent of profit it will be well worth the investment, as proof of the fact that Persia is modern!” Although agriculture is the occupation of eighty per cent. of the population including the tribes, the Government encourages national industries. There is a large textile plant in Isphahan. The production of rugs, 95 per cent. of

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

which are exported, has been badly hit by the world depression and by the rise in the tariffs. Unfortunately the export of carpets is largely in foreign hands (except in Tabriz). The idea of a monopoly either by the government itself or by an Iranian company, has much to recommend it to the government. It would enable Iranians to obtain control immediately over their most renowned national industry. Sugar is another important product of Iranian industrialisation. It is a government monopoly.

The railway which will run the entire length of the land from the Caspian Sea to the Iranian Gulf with harbours at both termini, has been begun at both ends. This Trans-Iranian railway covers a distance of roughly 1,500 kilometers. It is being financed entirely out of Iran's own means "untainted by foreign loans or control." The line from the Caspian to Teheran is now finished. The Trans-Iranian Railway will greatly aid the policing of the country, and at the same time assure an all-Iranian management. It is also a political and strategical railway.

The financial reorganisation begun in 1922 has been carried through with a determination to meet all expenditures out of ordinary revenues. To balance the budget with ordinary revenues, and at the same time meet the heavy expenses involved in the government's expanding activities is an achievement of note.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

The Shah travelled far and wide in his realm, preaching love of country and patriotism. When sending the first large group of students to France in 1928, he said to them:

"France is a country where patriotism is very highly honoured; you shall learn to follow the example of the French and love your country as much as they love theirs."

There is also a movement to standardise Iranian dress, to have a national costume, to accentuate the Iranian feeling. All Iranian citizens wear the Pahlevi hat. Western standards of public health are being urged. The position of women is improving, and, by command of the Shah, they are discarding the veil and entering social life in its true spirit.

The Shah is aware of the wealth of ancient buildings and mosques his country possesses, and he has inaugurated a great survey of such buildings, and, at considerable sacrifice money is being liberally allocated to the preservation of these exquisite relics. Whilst attaching himself to modern progress and development, the Shah has not neglected the spiritual side. A museum has been built in Teheran, where magnificent works of art, reminding of the glorious past of the Achæmenian Empire, the Sasanian and the Safavid dynasties, as well as the products of the extensive and important excavations will be shown. Great interest in new Iran has also been aroused by

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

cultural activities, such as the Exhibition of Persian Art in 1931 at the Royal Academy in London, and the wide-world celebration of the Millenary of Firdausi in November, 1934.

Steps have been taken to improve foreign relations. The pressure which is felt closest home was the pressure of Russia. Originally the policy of the Soviets was to assault capitalism in the West by undermining imperialism in the East. The policy in regard to nationalities (cultural autonomy within the limits of centralised economic and political control) had as a secondary objective the attraction into the Soviet Federation of border peoples who are racially akin to those already in the Union, e.g. the Outer Mongolians, the Turks of Sinkiang, etc. The Soviets likewise promoted the formation of a Middle East block, and organised the treaties of friendship signed in Moscow in 1921 between Soviet Russia, Persia, Turkey, and Afghanistan. When these treaties were strengthened in 1925-1928 the initiative was taken by the Islamic States themselves, indicating their feeling of greater independence as Western aggression declined. At any rate, the fundamental interest of the Soviets in the East broadens and deepens. The various Soviet Institutes for Eastern Studies are turning out experts, skilled in languages and crafts, and prepared for work in the border States. These are facts not to be overlooked. Iran should preserve, as she is determined to,

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

her independence, as a sovereign neutral State—a Switzerland of Asia.

Britain's policy in Iran has likewise evolved. What is new is the friendly British attitude towards Iran evidenced in the happy ending of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's dispute. The new concession, signed in April, 1933, extends the lease for sixty years and grants Iran a minimum royalty of £750,000 a year, plus other contributions from the Company such as £10,000 yearly to educate Iranian nationals for the oil industry. The Company is completing a new refinery at Kermanshah. Aside from the dispute as to sovereignty over the Bahrein Islands, British relations with Iran are serene. So, Great Britain also supports Iranian independence and closer cooperation amongst the Middle East States.

As regards relations with Turkey, the relations were strained after the World War over frontier questions. Finally a treaty of friendship was signed in 1926, and following it in 1923 came a protocol for close economic cooperation. With the frontier delimited satisfactorily in 1929, there began an exchange of courtesy visits by high officials of both countries. The last and most spectacular of these was the visit of the Shah to Turkey in 1934. In September, 1934, as a gesture of good-will, Iran withdrew in favour of Turkey her candidacy for the non-permanent seat vacated by China in the Council of the League of Nations. The relations of Iran with

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Afghanistan are now extremely close. Kabul, but a week from Teheran by automobile, is strongly influenced by the Iranian reforms, though changes are taking place there at a less rapid rate than in the days of Amanullah.

The Iraqi-Iranian dispute which necessitated long and protracted negotiations has been finally settled, and the relations between the two neighbour countries now are very friendly. Thus we see the happy completion of the circle of Middle East Islamic solidarity. The recently concluded Four Powers Pact sets the seal upon this solidarity.

CONTEMPORARY AFGHANISTAN

IN February 1919, Amir Amanullah Khan succeeded his father, Habibullah (1901-1919) to the throne of Afghanistan. At that time the nation was writhing with pain at the loss of the political power of Islam in Turkey. Amir Habibullah was murdered because he was accused of being pro-British. His third son was favoured and chosen to succeed him as ruler; he was expected to declare war against the British. And so he did.

In May 1919, Afghan armies began to march across the frontier. They entered India. The British forces were defeated on two fronts. However, at one front, the British also won a success. The British at this juncture gave out that they were

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

ready to accede to the Afghan demand of complete independence and to renounce their control of the Afghan foreign policy which they had done since their friendly treaty with Amir Abdurrahman in 1880. A ratification of the frontier was also made in favour of Afghanistan (Treaty of Rawalpindi).

The new King was a reformer of the same type as Kamal Atatürk and Riza Shah Pahlavi. His main objective was to make the national Government effectively independent of foreign control and effectively master in its own house. His method was to introduce Western technique and to break with the Islamic tradition as far as might be necessary for that purpose; and, in attempting to carry out this policy, he was inclined to be high-handed in his dealings both with foreign Powers and with his own countrymen. He embarked upon internal reforms in which Westernisation and the assertion of the Central Government's authority went hand in hand.

The King received a Russian mission, and in September 1921 he concluded a treaty with the Soviets. The object of the treaty was to foster friendly relations with both countries and to exchange diplomatic representatives. The Afghan Government, however, did not invite experts either from British India or from Russia in the belief that the distant nations were less to be feared by Afghanistan than her two powerful Asiatic neighbours. In March, 1921 a treaty of friendship was concluded

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

with Turkey in the form of an alliance. In the same month he signed a political and commercial agreement with Iran. Amanullah made a long European tour (1927-28), but also visited Egypt. He decided upon a wholesale importation of the ways of the West of which he had become deeply enamoured during his tour. He returned home *via* Turkey and Persia; with these two Islamic countries he agreed to stand on political grounds in mutual self-defence.

The combination of revolutionary measures taken by Amanullah upon his return to his country inevitably led to trouble. The King persuaded his people to adopt immediately the European style of life. He was alienating the old army and the old official class, on whom the authority of the Central Government still depended, before he had built up new organisations to supersede them; and in this transition stage, when the Central Government was abnormally weak, he was attempting to exert his authority in unaccustomed ways over the most unruly of his subjects. There were grievances again owing to high taxation and the introduction of conscription with harsh measures. Serious revolts broke out, and the people were angrily protesting against the King for his overlooking the traditions of Islam.

Rebellion broke out in the autumn of 1928, and the Shinwaris raised the standard of revolt. The brigand leader Bacha-i-Saqua found it easy to oust the King and proclaim himself ruler of Afghanistan.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

Amanullah left Afghanistan in May, 1929.

Bacha-i-Saqua who established a reign of terror was finally crushed when the national forces under King Nadir Shah entered Kabul, (October, 1929). Nadir Khan was elected King by popular will and acclamation on October 16th.

The new King promulgated the liberal Constitution of 1930. There are two Houses, the members of the Senate nominated by the King, while those of the National Assembly are elected by universal male franchise. A series of reforms were initiated by Nadir Khan. Road building was extended; irrigation schemes were planned in all the provinces. The condition of the army greatly improved, becoming well-equipped according to methods of modern warfare and being highly disciplined. A military Academy was erected by the soldier-king. Special attention was paid to education, a national university founded, as well as an organised technical department. Progress was also achieved in other departments of government activity: agriculture, commerce, communications, industry, banking and sanitation. Diplomatic representation was extended, especially to Muslim countries; thus Afghanistan had her Ministers in Egypt, Baghdad, and Hejaz. Throughout his short but enlightened reign a sound and constructive national programme of gradual reform and modernisation was efficiently carried out. It sought to introduce the essentials of modern civilisation.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

without any break with the practical traditions of Islam.

Unfortunately, this march of progress was to be interrupted by the tragic death of King Nadir Khan who was murdered on November 8th, 1933. His only son, Muhammad Zahir Khan succeeded him to the throne of Afghanistan. Under him, as present ruler, Afghanistan is making a steady progress, through a continuance of the policy of the late King. Afghanistan has also become a member of the League of Nations.

Afghanistan is one of the richest countries in Asia as regards natural wealth, but they are as yet undeveloped. Its soil is very rich and raises heavy crops. It is also very rich in mines. It has gold, iron and oil in abundance. The country is also rich in herbs, a great many of which are of medicinal value.

On account of high mountains and abundance of water, electric power can be developed in most of the mountain streams. It thus gives Afghanistan great possibility of industrial culture.

In the words of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the Afghans, a people of inexhaustible vitality, possess three striking qualities: "their deep religious spirit, their complete freedom from distinctions of birth and rank, and the perfect balance with which they have always maintained their religious and national ideals. This spirit of conservatism has always been, and will always remain, a great source of strength to

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

the Afghans. It keeps them in living contact with their past, without rendering them incapable of response to the calls of a new age." (Foreword to *Afghanistan* by J. D. Ahmad and M. A. Aziz, Kabul, 1934.) During recent years Afghanistan has entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Turkey and contracted treaties of friendship with Sa'udi Arabia, Iraq, Egypt, and Iran, and with several countries of the West.

ISLAMIC REVIVAL IN INDIA AND THE FAR EAST

BY the seventeenth century the whole of India as far south as Tanjore had been brought within the Moghul Empire. Islam was established and consolidated from Afghanistan to Bengal and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. In the following century rebellions broke out and the Moghul Empire began to decline. But Islam was firmly established as one of the great faiths of India, and today there are over eighty million Muslims in the country. Their number increases yearly at the rate of approximately one million.

Although education among the Muslim community in India has been backward, yet great efforts are being made today to remedy this. The first real impulse to modern and organised education came shortly after the mutiny, when Sayyid Ahmad Khan founded his University at Aligarh. On its

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

educational side it aimed at the reproduction of the modern public school system. On the religious side it sought to reform Islam and adapt it to modern conditions of thought and progressive ideas. Aligarh, with its enlightened system, helped the spread of the new educational movement, and was able to review the fortunes of Islam in India and to criticise its state.

Along with the cultural awakening the Muslims began to take a new and deep interest in politics. They had become aroused by the nationalist torrent which raged in India. In 1912 they founded the Muslim League, which was animated by the spirit of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. It held annual meetings like those of the Indian National Congress, and like the Congress criticised British despotism.

The political situation in India, with the strong national spirit that has been aroused among Hindus and Muslims alike, has made leaders of Hinduism and Islam seek to draw together. The Hindu-Muslim alliance could enable Indians of all creeds to present a united front in their demands for national independence. The problem of Hindu-Muslim relations has been studied by all those who are interested in the unity of India. We cannot enter here into details of the problem, both in its historical setting and in its immediate circumstances today. The causes of the Hindu-Muslim tension have been classified as social, religious, economic and political.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

One of the writers who have closely studied this problem, Clifford Manshardt, asserts that the social and religious causes of tension are intensified by an unscrupulous communal press on both sides. He says that the economic and political causes of tension are "more recent and most potent". The widespread indebtedness of the Hindu peasant to the Afghan (Muslim) money-lender, or of the Muslim peasant to the Hindu money-lender, is a tremendous source of mutual ill-will, in a land where the large majority of the peasants live in a permanent condition of debt to the money-lender, and where rates of interest are not infrequently as high as one hundred and fifty per cent. per annum. Manshardt is of opinion that in the future the economic struggle will tend to create tension between classes rather than between communities. "A Hindu agriculturist will find himself more akin to a Muslim agriculturist than to a fellow Hindu industrialist;" and "the interests of the workers and the interests of the employers are certain to cut across communal lines." But that time is not yet.

Another author (a Muslim) who has carefully studied the aspects of the Hindu-Muslim conflict writes in his introduction to his work on the subject (Rahmat Ali: *Contribution à l'Etude du Conflit Hindou-Musulman*, Paris, 1933) :

"The British colonial world attributes the problem to religious fanaticism of the Indian masses;

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Indian nationalism considers it as a creation of British imperialism."

The author endeavours to show that despite religious appearances, the Hindu-Muslim conflict is the reflection of economic relationships established in the country and in towns between the different social strata. But he does not under-estimate the importance of factors of a political nature. India is mainly an agricultural country. About 90 per cent. of her people live in villages and are dependent upon farming and only 10 per cent. live in cities. The land problem is the greatest problem of India. Rahmat Ali writes (p. 10. of his above-mentioned book): "The whole social system of India needs a radical transformation, and the complete emancipation of the country is but a step towards the disappearance of the Hindu-Muslim conflict." He is further of opinion that : "The lack of homogeneity in the development of Hindu and Muslim sections of the Indian bourgeoisie is at the base of the conflict between Muslims and Hindus" (p. 140).

Recent political developments have also intensified communal tension, for with the coming-in of the New Constitution, which took effect on April 1, 1937, each of the two major communities, which are rivals for power, is struggling desperately to strengthen its political representation in the legislative assemblies, and views every advance of the

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

other community as a menace to its own security.

But it would be entirely wrong to convey the impression that communal conflict is always upon the surface of Indian life. It is not. All over India, Hindus and Muslims are living together in a peaceful fashion. But it is a fact that potential conflict lies beneath the surface.

Yet all these differences are no bar to a workable unity of India. An Indian publicist and author, Basanta Koomar Roy, has written : (*Orient*, N. Y., Nov.-Dec. 1934) :

“In spite of all outward and superficial differences there is an underlying and fundamental geographical and cultural unity of India....The Muslims, however, brought with them a new culture from outside. And in the course of centuries this great culture of Islam has much enriched and invigorated Hindu culture. The mighty Moghul Emperors of India like Akbar and Shah Jehan blended the colours of these two distinct cultures into one most majestic symphony of Indian culture. The story of that unity is legibly and indelibly written in the new literature of both the Hindus and the Mohammedans ; and above all in the glorious masterpieces of India's painting and architecture. The Taj Mahal of Agra, the most beautiful building on earth today, is but the outward blossoming of the inner union of the Hindu and Muslim cultures of Mother India.”

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

It is hoped that with a wider-minded educational system and intelligent cooperation of men of good-will on both sides it would be possible to achieve a permanent solution of the communal conflict in an emancipated India.

Muslim India very keenly feels her burden of responsibility for the welfare of the world of Islam. Geographically she is situated at the centre of this world, between the Far Eastern Muslims and the Muslims of the Near East. Muslim India is sensitive to all that takes place in the whole Muslim world, and Muslim Indians are alive to what is happening to their brothers in various parts of the world and are prepared to show their sympathy both morally and materially. As Muslim India forms the largest single group of Muslims in the world she can play a rôle of great importance and far-reaching results in the actual movement of revival.

Turning to the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), we find a rapid evolution there. The importance of the Netherlands Indies is evident when we remember its vast Muslim population of about fifty-five million souls. There is an active revival along religious, intellectual, and social lines. Contact is increasing between Indonesia and the Near East. Various Muslim societies exist for the revival of religion and of nationalism. All of these have their press. The Society of Sharikat-Islam, the

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

Boedi-Octomo, and the Muhammedia-Party are the best known, but there are many others. The centres of publication are mainly at Surabaya and Batavia.

The policy of the colonial government has been apparently neutral. However, she did not view with satisfaction any Muslim movement which had for its objective the consolidation of Islam in these vast territories. She sought them to limit, and counteract the penetration of Islam through the whole colonial empire by means of Christian missionaries. The policy of the Dutch government in this respect has degenerated into favouritism towards the activities of these missions.

Of all information given on the true situation of Islam in Japan, it seems that the most accurate is a declaration recently given by Muhsin Châban Oglou, a representative Muslim of the Far East, who is a member of the Muslim Committee of the Far East and a contributor to the *Informateur Japonais*, a Muslim periodical appearing at Tokyo. His statements have been made at Baghdad, where he passed after performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, this year. According to him the Muslims in Japan may be estimated at about 1,000, the majority of whom are emigrants who left Russia upon the advent of bolshevism. The Japanese government cordially received these Muslim emigrants. To these must be added some Japanese Muslims, among whom is found the Prince Ali Ahouan, cousin of the Emperpr. ,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

who is a fervent Muslim and has constructed in his native city, Kobe, with the government's permission and with the help of subscriptions, the first mosque in Japan. As for Tokyo, the Japanese government has granted a piece of land for the construction of another mosque. A powerful Muslim association under the leadership of Kourban Ali, exists in Japan and works assiduously for the propagation of Islam.

As for China there are 50 million Muslims there enjoying full confidence of the Central Government at Nanking. There are entire troops, having their marshalls, their generals and brilliant officers, who are Muslims. The Chinese Muslims have been able to preserve their faith, their traditions and their religious unity in spite of the misfortunes which were inflicted upon them by the Bolshevists and fanatic Chinese. These destructive agents have demolished 5,000 mosques 12 years ago. But now all mosques and Muslim schools have been restored. Muslims in China and Manchukuo are already in relationship with Egypt, which through Al-Azhar University takes an active part in their religious instruction. Several Egyptian professors were sent by Al-Azhar to Peking for instruction at the Muslim schools there. The Arabic language is very popular in the Far East. There are at present some 30 Chinese and Manchurian students at Al-Azhar and five Japanese Muslims, one of whom has made his

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

studies at the University of Tokyo. There is continuous contact between the Sheikh of Al-Azhar and the Islamic Associations of the Far East. M. Oglou concludes by hoping that an Islamic mission be sent by Egypt to Japan to make Islamic and Arabic propaganda. The Japanese government would favour such a mission.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND ISLAM

THERE are some thirty million Muslims living in the Soviet Russian European and Asiatic territories. Like all other communities they have not been exempt from religious persecution. But in spite of aggressive and active Bolshevik propaganda, the Muslims of Russia have generally remained immune to the Bolshevik virus.

The Soviets, face to face with Islam, adopted a definite policy, external and internal. Their external policy towards Islam, which had been formulated at the Congress of Baku (1920) consisted in posing as liberators of the oppressed oriental peoples, particularly the Muslims, of capitalist exploitation and European colonisation. Their internal policy, as defined by Stalin (report of 1921) and Sapharov (report of 1922) aims at dissolving religious congregations, breaking the nationalist Pan-Turkish movement and of expropriating the great properties, besides combating the Islamic religion.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Thus the Soviets pursued a double policy towards Islam : Externally they proclaim themselves the defenders of oppressed Islam against occidental "Imperialism"; and internally (in Soviet Russia) their policy has been to persecute this same Islam, because their anti-religious campaign did not spare Islam. The "Godless Movement" energetically works for the destruction of the Islamic beliefs throughout the Soviet Union. They preach their atheism with vigour. In Caucasus and in Central Asia the progress of the "Godless Movement" is very difficult owing to the stubborn resistance of the Muslims and their fierce hostility to Bolshevism. Even a communist author avows that "if it is relatively easy to close down the orthodox churches, it is not the same for the mosques the elimination of which calls for the greatest prudence." If the Christian West can see, without protesting, the severe campaign of the sans-Dieu, the Muslim Orient, on the contrary, revolts violently against religious persecutions. This is a fact of which a remarkable and striking evidence is afforded by an appeal made by the Muslims of Russia to the Holy See! The text of that appeal against religious persecutions has been published in the organ of the Vatican, the *Osservatore Romano* of 24th July, 1930.

At the General Islamic Congress, held at Jerusalem, in December 1931, a report was made on the condition of Muslims in Russia by Iyadh Ishaqi,

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

president of the Committee for Independence of the Muslims of the Volga and the Ural, and director of the review *Yani Mili Yul* which he founded in Berlin in 1929. Another report on the situation of the Muslims in the Caucasus was made by Saïd Schamil, president of the National Defence of Caucasus. The report of Iyadh Ishaqi (published *in extenso* in Italian in *Oriente Moderno*, March, 1932, pp. 131—137) gives numerous details on the persecution of Muslims and the anti-religious activities of the "Godless Movement", in the Muslim regions of Russia. Consequent upon this report, the Congress raised a vote of protest against this attitude of Russia. The principle of the destruction of all religion has been a dogma for Moscow.

Soviet Turkestan is particularly the seat of an active and vehement Bolshevist propaganda. It was a Bolshevist agent who murdered Enver Pasha in his rising against the Bolshevists, who formerly declared themselves his allies.

Tashkend is today a large city of 500,000 inhabitants, the capital, with Samarkand, of Ouzbekistan, a great economic and cultural centre of Bolshevist Central Asia. It is here that the managing organs for all that part of the Soviet East are found: the Central Asian Bureau of the Communist Party, the direction of the railways of Central Asia, the offices of the *Pravda* of the Orient, the university of Central Asia and of a large number of schools. Here also

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the Bolsheviks have demolished the minaret of the great mosque of Samarkand and erected in its place a huge statue of Lenin with the inscription: 'No more will the Muezzin call the Faithful from the top of the minarets, but....Lenin!'

Tashkend has become the centre of espionage and intrigues of Soviet Russia from which the Soviet agents set out to adjacent countries: Afghanistan, India, Iran, etc.

The Komintern endeavours through indirect channels to influence the proletariat classes in the Muslim countries of North Africa and the Near East. But it must be once more emphasised that Islam is incompatible with communism and there can never be an association between Muslims and Bolsheviks.

Many western observers of Islamic affairs have frequently posed the question in the last few years: Does the emancipation of Islam and the consolidation of its forces and unity constitute a menace to the West? will Islam once more invade Europe? will a new wave of conquest from the Islamic Orient sweep over the West?

It needs a little and careful consideration of the facts which we have discussed in previous chapters about Islam and its awakening, apart from geo-political considerations, in order to dissipate the fears of such an alleged menace.

History does not repeat itself. The so-called

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

repetitions of history are merely phases of the same historic evolution.

If it may be asserted that there are at the present day conditions in the West which invite a conquest from the East, they are solely the spiritual conditions. The West is today in a spiritual decadence analogous to that in which it lived in the seventh century when Islam appeared and set out to conquer the souls of men. If there is any question of a new Islamic invasion, it would only be a spiritual—not territorial—conquest, and this would be for the good of Europe and of humanity at large. For it would mean the preservation of a synthesised civilisation of the East and the West for future generations.

CHAPTER XII

ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

IT is indisputable that Islam is a most important international force. It unites in collective sympathy an expanding fraternity comprising the peoples of central and western Asia, Arabia, Egypt, all the central and northern parts as well as considerable portions of eastern and western Africa ; and it has a huge block of adherents in India, China, and the Malay Archipelago, and there are important Muslim minorities in the Balkans and small communities in other European countries such as Poland and Hungary, as well as in the New World, the Philippines and the Far East. All these peoples are dominated by the teaching of the Quran and all look to Mecca as the spiritual centre of their world. All these peoples, despite their differences in race, colour and tongue, are bound together by a common faith and a common ideal. All Muslims are brothers, and in consequence of this Quranic principle, a Muslim is everywhere, in Islamic lands, in his home. His personal status, religious status, and social status is, in fact, everywhere the same, so long as he lives in the lands of Islam. Thus the Islamic brotherhood sets up a true internationalism in which the greatest force is the Faith which holds all Muslims together.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Again, from all parts of the vast Islamic world the annual pilgrimage "Hajj" takes place, which brings on the road and into Mecca, the most diverse races and serves as an effective means for strengthening the conviction of Muslim unity and for reviving religious zeal.

The laws and customs of Islam, as we have seen, affect the daily life, government, policy and business of Muslim peoples; and therefore hostile movements may easily be aroused if Muslims feel that the power of their religion may be attacked.

This is the reason for the immense importance of Islamic problems in international politics, particularly in regard to those Western Powers, whose subjects include many Muslims; and first and foremost among these Powers are Great Britain and France who are both great colonial Muslim-containing empires; some sections of both these empires are almost entirely Muslim. The Muslim peoples are found under different political conditions. Some are completely independent, others less so, but most of them are still in a state of subjection to western powers. Over 100 millions are under British rule. There are some 60 millions under French rule, some 50 millions under Dutch rule, in colonies, protectorates or mandated territories. There are some 30 million Muslims in Russia, and the great majority of the populations of Italian colonial possessions are Muslim. Even countries like Spain,

ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

and the United States have their Islamic problems, the first in Morocco and the latter in the Philippines.

It follows from the above that Islamic problems have a very important bearing upon world affairs as well as upon the policies adopted by the Great Powers towards Islam. A few illustrations :

Algeria is regarded rather as an extension of France than as a colony. The proximity of the French North African territories to France proper is important for the latter both economically and strategically ; economically since French exports to Algeria alone exceed those of Great Britain to India ; strategically, because the " Wet Triangle " of Toulon, Bizerta and Oran enables France, with the consent of a friendly Great Britain, to dominate the Western Mediterranean and thus to insure the transport of Muslim colonial troops to homeland ports in war. Thus here France has a vital interest for European continental reasons. It is the territories in North, West and Equatorial Africa which constitute by far the larger and more valuable portion of the French colonial empire. They extend uninterruptedly from the Mediterranean to the Niger and Congo. When the Trans-Saharan railway is constructed, France will be able to move her native troops from the heart of Africa to the Mediterranean without risk. Again, from this empire, France draws many raw materials and foodstuffs ; iron and phosphates as well as wine,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

cereals and olive oil from North Africa. In that empire she finds a precious and growing market for her steel and iron as well as her textiles. Year by year her network of railways is expanding, and in Morocco she has found a rich field for investment and development.

In the present Spanish Civil War, General Franco has relied greatly upon the help of the Moroccan troops which he raised from the Riff and which form the flower of his army, and he has promised them, as a reward, the granting of some sort of independence, which France resents for fear of repercussions in French Morocco, and which Britain views as a danger which might allow countries such as Italy and Germany to get a foothold in Northern Morocco, thus upsetting the balance of power in the Mediterranean.

In 1932, Iran, acting within her rights, decided not to authorise the Imperial Airways to fly along her southern shore (the coast of the Iranian Gulf). Then an alternative route had to be found, and the Arabian coast of the Iranian Gulf was selected. The greater part of this coast is independent territory under the rule of King Ibn Sa'ud, but there are exceptions such as Kuwait, Bahrain, the Trucial States and Oman, which are nominally independent territories under British protection. So Imperial Airways were able to establish a series of stations at Kuwait, Bahrain, and Sharja. But in order to use

ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

the intervening territories which belong to independent Sa'udi Arabia, in case of need, Great Britain has to be reasonable in her general policy with Ibn Sa'ud if she hopes to get permission to land at certain specified and suitable places along his coast. The British Government must, then, realise that the arrangement with him must be made on precisely the same basis as they would negotiate with any independent European country for permission to fly over her territory.

In the Near East, the very heart of Islam, Great Britain and France have common ground where they meet and where their policies intermingle. Here theoretically, at least, Great Britain should, in view of her Indian interests, practice a policy calculated to keep the Indian Muslims at peace and to give her the benefit of their confidence. A contrary policy, as in the case of Palestine, has only provoked restlessness and protest not only in other Arab countries, but also in India and other Islamic countries. The Near Eastern policy of France has to be considered in the light of its reactions on North Africa, for, as Marechal Lyautey has very rightly remarked, the Islamic world is like a resonant box and, therefore, what happens in any part of it, reverberates at once in all other parts.

Indeed, among the religions of the world, Islam is the one which most affects international politics for, besides its universality, it is at once a spiritual

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

and temporal force, a social and political system which also possesses a religious conception of nationality, and, as a way of life, it has an influence on trade, business and actions of governments.

Before the World War Islamic politics were not a topic of general interest. They were watched and studied by only a limited number of specialists and governments. The East was considered decadent and unchanging. The only Great Muslim State, the Ottoman Empire, was fighting a losing battle with the West, and the defeats of Turkey led to the promotion by Sultan Abdul Hamid of a defensive Pan-Islamism which aimed at strengthening and expanding the traditional Islamic religious and political unity. But the political significance of the Muslim countries was in those days lessened by the fact that not one of them was really independent, the Ottoman Empire herself having been placed under the tutelage of the "European Concert". Persia, though nominally free, was divided into spheres of influence, while all the other Muslim lands, including Chinese Turkestan, were colonies, protectorates, or provinces belonging to various neighbouring States. In this way the affairs of the Muslims of those countries had become a matter of the policy of their rulers: Great Britain, France, Holland, Russia, China, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain and the United States. And no one thought that this situation of the peoples of Islam could change.

ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

But a great change was at hand in consequence of the World War and its results. The white nations of Europe were unable to settle their differences in battle without the help of coloured races. They asked for their help. Germany began by securing the alliance of the Ottoman Empire and by trying, unsuccessfully, to stir up through the Sultan-Caliph a Pan-Islamic Holy War against the Allies. As it happened, the appeal of a Holy War was slight. The British armed the Arab armies, and, through such English agents as Colonel Lawrence and Gertrude Bell, helped the Muslim Arabs in their revolt against the Sultan. France and Great Britain brought Indian, Senegalese, Moroccan and Algerian troops to the battle fields against Germany and Turkey. The immediate consequence of this was to split the Muslims into two hostile belligerent camps. The Muslim lands were in the grip of the Europeans and Turkey was awaiting her fate. Western control over Islamic countries was supreme. The Muslim peoples were stirring with the spirit of revolt and became increasingly resentful of Western influence, disliking its ideals and desiring to govern themselves according to their own faith and traditions.

The territorial possessions of the traditional 'sick man of Europe' had for long been allocated among the victors. Turkey was shorn of its outlying lands which, after the War, passed under the control of Great Britain and France through mandates granted

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

by the Council of the League of Nations.

The Russian revolution also revealed, in the publication by the Bolsheviks of the secret treaties, scandalous evidence of the real objectives of the Allied Governments who had been fighting for the principles of liberty and democracy.

The War and its aftermath gave rise not only to new problems in the Near and Middle East but also to new vitality, new aspirations, and extensive nationalist movements. All their peoples became united in a strong common feeling against European domination. They were starting resolutely on the road to political independence and national revival. The outcome of their struggle was the achievement of complete independence of an increasing network of Islamic countries as we have previously described. With the rebirth of Turkey under Kamal, as a compact, vigorous and progressive national unit, the Islamic peoples understood that a Power in the eastern base of the Mediterranean was born, which, although secularised today, cannot forget that she had been before the only Muslim Great Power. The prestige and marvellous victories won by Turkey have greatly enhanced the national sentiments throughout the Near and Middle East.

The progressive emancipation of the Arab countries has been accompanied by the rise and development of Pan-Arabism. Already King Feisal, when he set up an Arab national government in

ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Syria before he was driven out by the French, had hoped to build up a centre of Arab unity and independence. The unification of the greater part of the Arabian Peninsula under the strong Wahhabi King Ibn Sa'ud has given fresh impetus to the movement for Arab unity, and the progress of Iraq, as well as the liberation of Syria, has been an additional stimulus for the advocates of Pan-Arabism to multiply their efforts towards its realisation. This important movement has become, especially during the past few years, a significant factor in world politics, in view of the great issues it raises between Western imperialism and Oriental nationalism. But the extent to which Arab unity can be achieved should be estimated in the light of the present situation in the various Arab lands. Thus, whereas Sa'udi Arabia, Iraq and Yemen are completely independent and are bound together by mutual pacts of friendship, Arab brotherhood and alliance, Syria has just entered upon the path towards its ultimate emancipation and admission to the League of Nations. Palestine, on the other hand, is in the melting pot, and no compact Arab block will be possible without the liberation of Palestine as an Arab national unit. Independent Egypt has, so far, confined its participation in the movement to assuming the rôle of intellectual and cultural leadership and to the fostering of the economic and commercial relations between her and the neighbouring

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Arab countries. However, in Egypt, as in other Arab centres there is an intense activity in the cause of Arab unity. In fact there is an important Arab League in Cairo with the president of the Egyptian Senate at its head.

Other Arab countries like French North Africa are still under French rule and the place they have in Pan-Arabism at present, can only be that of cultural solidarity and of common hopes of union. Therefore it is premature to think of a political unity at present. All leaders of the Pan-Arab Movement of course realise that, for the present at least, there is no question of a politically unified Arab nation stretching from the shores of the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf. The seventy-million Arab-speaking peoples in Hejaz, Najd, Assir, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Palestine and other parts of the Arabian Peninsula, and Egypt and North Africa, are ruled in such diverse ways that they—in a condition somewhat similar to that of the German-speaking peoples of Europe—cannot be included under one single government and one political status.

Yet the dream of a revived Arab Empire haunts many of the zealous partisans of the Pan-Arab movement and various projects are devised to realise this aspiration. Such a project may be read, for example, in one of the organs of Arabism, "*Ar-Rabita al-Arabiyya*" (Cairo, 19th Aug. 36) as follows :

• "The idea of an Arab unity has been born in

ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

diverse countries and appears to be growing. It has made great progress during the last sixteen years. Since the end of the World War, the Arab countries have been brought nearer by means of ideas, aspirations and sentiments. Should an unhappy event affect one of these countries, all the others join together to aid her. The situation in Palestine is a striking example of that; the calamity which befell her has hit all the Arabs. Should an Arab country be successful in a claim, all the others manifest their rejoicing. When an Arab travels in an Arab country other than his own, it does not seem to him that he has left his home. In order to arrive at the creation of an Arab empire the Arab governments ought to strip themselves of local egoism and abstain from doing anything that would injure the march towards unity. The rallying cry of all Arabs, whether governing or governed, must be 'Arabism above all'.

"It goes without saying that the creation of an Arab empire needs time. If time be seconded by sincerity, abnegation and devotion of the Arabs, it will be easy to unite the Arab countries and make out of them a single nation. All ethnic federations known in the history of nations are not realised except after a certain time and a certain preparation. We have evidences of that in the American unity, the German unity and the Italian unity. The policy of alliances between Arab governments, based upon

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

abnegation and upon the interest of Arabs is to be encouraged, since such alliances are important factors in the realisation of the Arab empire.

"The partisans of Arab unity should assemble every year in a congress which is held in each of the Arab capitals, with a view to a discussion of all the means towards realising this unity. It would be useful to create a permanent bureau to this Arab Congress, similar to the permanent bureau of the General Islamic Congress.

"The greatest and best congress is the Pilgrimage to Mecca, originally conceived as a means for all the Muslims to know each other. It is also convenient that the Muslims should encourage pilgrimage through propaganda.

"The Arabs are at present ready for the realisation of their unity and the moment of action has arrived. The first thing to begin with should be education. The Arabs should unify the programmes of instruction, for the unification of education is one of the most powerful factors of political unity. The exchange of school missions among Arab countries would be of great use. Every country should have recourse to the professors of the other, in order that the students may imbibe the same spirit, the same principles and the same hope.

"After the unity of instruction comes that of economy. To realise the latter, it suffices to abolish the customs barriers between the Arab world to

ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

unify the money and to suppress passports and thus the Arab world would form an economic unity, which, together with that of instruction, would prepare it for political unity. It would be suitable that an exchange of commercial, agricultural and financial missions should be made among the different Arab countries. Thus the Arab world would become a vast field of exploitation for the Arabs without distinction.

"The creation of an Arab empire should be based upon a large decentralisation. Every province should have its representative assembly, its autonomy, as in the United States.

"The Arab empire should be provided with a single Chamber of Deputies, the members of which would represent all the provinces; with one Senate, one army, one foreign policy, a single customs organisation, one money, one programme of instruction and one imperial police force charged with the security of all the provinces.

"As for who would be the emperor, it is a question of time and of personal value."

We have seen that with the abolition of the Caliphate by the Turkish Republic, other movements such as Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism have arisen in order to take the place, even partly, of the vanished caliphate, as a unifying idea for the Muslims. At any rate there has been a growing feeling of unity and spiritual solidarity in the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Muslim world. The practice of periodical holding of Islamic general congresses has greatly fostered this feeling and increased this sense of solidarity among the awakened peoples of Islam. The rapid extension of the press in Muslim countries and the spread of the wireless in the important centres (in Cairo, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Algeria and even Mecca where a radio-station has lately been installed) have greatly helped the dissemination of ideas and the broadcasting of the happenings in the Islamic world. Islam may be considered as an entity and the interpenetration between its different peoples has always existed, and especially today, owing to the rapid improvement of communications and the suppression of distance by means of the wireless. It is interesting to remark, for example, in this respect, that since the creation of the wireless station in Cairo, wireless apparatus has been widely spread throughout the Arab countries and thus they are all put in rapid touch with the events that are taking place throughout the Arab and Islamic worlds.

Projects of general Arab and Islamic congresses are increasingly made from all quarters of the Islamic world. Besides the famous General Islamic Congress held at Jerusalem in 1931, and the European Islamic Congresses, there have lately been projects for a general Muslim congress which was to be held at Mecca during the pilgrimage season of

ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

this year, with the object of discussing general Islamic problems but particularly the question of Palestine and the situation of her Muslims. This congress, however, was prohibited by King Ibn Sa'ud on the assumption that the introduction of political factors during the pilgrimage would be harmful to the religious atmosphere in which it ought to be accomplished.

Again, another project for a general Islamic congress has been made by a great Iranian Shi'ah Mujtahid, Sheikh Al-Zinjani, during his recent visit to Cairo where he aimed at the cementing of the ties of fraternity among the Muslim peoples of the East. With the approbation of the Sheikh-ul-Azhar, he proposed the convening of an Islamic congress which should have for its main object the unification of the Sunnites and Shi'ites as well as of the four Muslim rites: Hanafite, Shafi'ite, Malekite and Hanbalite. Al-Zinjani declared: "The discord is without importance. With the Sunnites, as with the Shi'ites, the essential principles are the same: unity of God, mission of the Prophet, last judgment. The doctrines which spring from them are, for the Shi'ites, drawn up from the Quran, the Hadith (tradition), the general consensus and the spirit; for the Sunnites, they are drawn up from the Quran, Hadith, general consensus and the letter: one can only point out insignificant divergences of opinion of law and casuistics. I am convinced that the future conference of unification, once assembled,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

would succeed without any obstacle."

These declarations of a leading Shi'ite are of importance to denote that, contrary to what is conceived by many western critics, the schisms between the Sunnite and the Shi'ite sections of Islam are of no significance, for they do not affect the general sense of unity.

Since the abolition of the Caliphate there have been from time to time proposals about raising the question in a general Islamic congress with a view to examining the possibility of its restoration.

Already after the World War the statesmen of London seemed inclined to favour the idea of making Hussain, King of Hejaz, caliph of all Islam, in place of the deposed Turkish Sultan. Great Britain tried to create a chief of Islam in the service of the "Intelligence Service", hoping that that would ultimately make Britain the patron and protector of an Arab confederacy, and through the Arab Caliph, Hussain, of the world of Islam. But this policy was doomed to failure, for it is against the principles of the institution of the caliphate. Hussain was overthrown by Ibn Sa'ud, who did not assume the title of Caliph.

France, also, contrary to the same principles, proposed the Sultan of Morocco, under her protection, as Caliph, in the service of Quai d'Orsay. Needless to say, he would not have been recognised by the world of Islam.

ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

King Ibn Sa'ud does not think of assuming the title of Caliph. He is satisfied with his sovereignty over Hejaz, Najd and the Dependent territories. Now that Egypt has become completely independent proposals from Muslim quarters have been made of the election of King Farouk of Egypt as Caliph. He has become popular in Egypt and in the Islamic world owing to his support of Islamic solidarity and progress. Although he may claim the office, yet Egypt is not yet sufficiently strong for him to assume successfully the dignity of that office. The caliphate will for some time to come remain vacant. No prophecy can even be made about its future.

Although among the Muslims efforts are being intensely made to hasten the attainment of the ideal of Arab and Islamic unity, these movements have been interpreted and viewed in the West from another angle. The Arab and Islamic countries aim at solidarity in face of any external danger but this solidarity is not intended to be a menace to the West. They look to a common goal of liberation from foreign tutelage and control in all its forms, and they are resolved to revive their own culture and to develop within the Islamic framework, despite the process of westernisation which is taking place in many parts of the Islamic world.

The colonial powers might well bear in mind that peace in a colony or a protectorate does not necessarily mean peace with the natives; that the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

policy of assimilation and naturalisation of Muslims is condemned and doomed to failure; that the imposition of foreign culture remains always superficial and undesired; that the Christian missionary is the worst agent which foreign rulers employ to serve their ends and is resented by the Muslims; that Muslims under alien rule are always on the alert and believe that their "chance of liberation is coming", for freedom of the Muslim is a religious injunction which he is bound to maintain and defend, his religion forbidding him to acquiesce in bondage; and lastly that it is erroneous to speak of a Christian colonial empire as a Muslim Empire, for a Muslim Empire is one which has at its head a Muslim ruler and a Muslim Government.

Islam accepts and reciprocates gestures of friendship and sympathy which any Power may be inclined to show towards Islam and the Muslims, if such gestures are sincere and not made with the object of furthering the interests of one (colonising) Power against another. Of course here it is no question of claims by any Power of being defender, guardian or protector of the Muslims. Islam does not want a foreign power to be turned out of one of its lands today, only so that another foreign power may step in and take her place to-morrow: Islam rejects both. It wants and is resolved to be free and to live with the rest of the world on equal terms of friendship, good-will and mutual cooperation.

CHAPTER XIII

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

IN the foregoing pages I have attempted a survey of the main aspects of Islam and the chief features of its present revival, as well as its rôle in international relations. Islamic questions have become, in our epoch, of exceptional importance for obvious reasons which are discussed in the previous chapters.

Islam today comprises some four hundred millions of the human race bound together by a common faith and a common ideal. The western peoples have to deal and live with this vast collection of communities, of many races and tongues, ranging in civilisation from the primitive simplicity of the Bedouin's tent and the shepherd's hut to the mechanical elaboration of the industrial age. The world itself has shrunk so much in recent years that it will henceforth be impossible, as formerly, to treat Islam as something remote and not vitally affecting the West. The rapid means of communication and transportation has brought together the human races; and the effect of the steamship, the railway, the aeroplane, the wireless and so on, has been cumulative, so that it may now be said that we have reached a very definite parting of the ways.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

In order to promote and maintain fruitful co-operation between Islam and the West, the latter must have a true knowledge of Islam and a clear conception of its problems. For, unfortunately, there is still an abundant misunderstanding of this religion in the western world. It is usually thought to be merely a religion. But Islam is not only a religion, it is, as we have already seen, also a civilisation. It not only directs a man's theology, it forms his society. It is thus a way of life—a way of thinking and acting, a "*Weltanschauung*", (outlook on the world) which embraces every aspect of human activity. As a religion Islam is not exclusive, but includes all divine religions in its own self. In a way, Islam and religion are equivalent terms. A Muslim believes in the truth of all Divine religions. Every divine religion was contained in Islam. The Islam revealed to Muhammad was only the latest and the last development of Islam as such. The other forms of Islam (religion) only served the needs of the different periods in question. The chief mission of Islam is, as its very name signifies, to bring peace and harmony between the different conflicting and opposing principles in nature. It seeks not only to satisfy the spiritual nature of man, but his material nature as well. It develops body as well as soul. It is not one-sided. It harmonises the individual and the social interests of man. It harmonises the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

egoistic and altruistic motives of man. In short, faith and reason, religion and science, spirit and matter, socialism and individualism, egoism and altruism, conservatism and liberalism, authority and liberty are not only reconciled but harmonised in one single whole to be employed as a means for the purpose of establishing the Abode of Peace *i. e.*, "*Dar-es-Salam*"* or the Islamic State, in which human beings should be able to live like true brothers and sisters in peace and prosperity. This is the chief object of Islam.

It is a misconception to think that Islam is unfit for progress, by simply observing it in a certain stage of stagnation or even apparent retrogression. For Islam encourages free inquiry and science and thus looks with remarkable favour upon progress. Islam stands pre-eminently for social and economic equality. Riches or material power makes no social difference. The phenomenon of aristocratic nobility does not exist. The keynote of our age is unity and world brotherhood, the greatest need of our time. Both have been practically realised within the folds of Islam. All Muslims are brethren, and this vital conception has drawn together all Muslims as a family in a very real sense. Because caste, colour and class distinctions are absent in Islam, two Muslims from two different countries

* "But God doth call to the Home of Peace."—Quran, S. X. 25. ●

arrive at mutual understanding in every respect quicker than two members of any other international association. A Muslim, whether he comes from Finland or London, from Java, or China, or even from the New World, is, to another Muslim, a brother, one to whom hospitality and asylum must be offered. This Islamic feeling of fraternity constitutes a real element of true internationalism in this modern age. Islam is indeed one of the greatest spiritual and social forces of the world and, consequently, a political and moral force of the first order.

Islam thus occupies a very great place in the modern world, and fills in it a very important rôle, whether as a religion, a social order, or a vast aggregation of peoples professing the same faith and having the same ideal.

As a religion, it is a plain fact that Islam is spreading in the world. It is steadily making headway in Asia and Africa, despite many difficulties, and is making sure advance in Europe today as well as in the New World. The absence of priesthood ; the simple, rational creed which characterises a natural progressive religion, the sense of devotion and pride of faith, and common loyalty to the Quran and the precepts of the Prophet are all vital forces in Islam.

Islam is a supremely uniting faith : One God, One Faith, One Brotherhood, One Sacred Law. Its

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

religious system is so simple and rational that it can hardly be called dogma, for it appeals to human nature and reason. It commends itself to the intellect of man and it is able to satisfy the deepest needs of his soul. Islam came preaching that God was accessible to all; He required no saintly intercessors, and the humblest might approach Him and seek His mercy. Because of the absence of a clergy and of any ecclesiastical organisation the feeling of responsibility rests upon the individual believers. It exerts attraction as a social force, it seeks to overcome the troubles of life and thus it gains perpetual moral strength. The new convert, from whatever race or caste, obtains through Islam civil recognition and the consciousness of human dignity. Thus Islam prepares men to be good citizens, for it stands for good-fellowship and a fair deal and equality for everyone and thus keeps man in a right relationship with his fellow-men. In practice, in the Muslim world, neither birth nor colour has prevented men from reaching the highest position. Islam offers a chance to all races and all of them have availed themselves of it in the measure of their talents. Islam, by insuring mental and moral freedom and respect for the human personality, fosters the growth of men's minds.

Let it be repeated that the Muslim society is extraordinarily God-conscious, that it is permeated by a religious control which extends into every area

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

of conduct. For the *bona fide* Muslim community, the great Law of the *Shar'iah* of Islam rests upon sacred foundations, the Holy Quran, which is regarded as God's ultimate revelation to man. Never is the Muslim permitted to forget his religion and his God. God is everywhere, Omnipotent, and one must pray to Him five times daily—and without the intervention of a priest. There is one day a week, Friday, upon which congregational prayers are offered, but the Muslim prays the rest of the week as well. Each day hundreds of million Muslims go down on their knees and bow their heads to the ground. They raise their hands in a gesture of adoration and murmur, no matter how different their thousand mother tongues may be, the same: *Allah-o-Akbar, La ilaha illa Allah, Muhammad Rasul Allah*, "God is great, There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Apostle of God".

In little rooms in a European capital as well as in the heart of Afghanistan, in ramshackle tenements of the East Side of New York as well as in the huts of rubber coolies in Malaya, this daily ritual is never forgotten. When the mu'ezzin climbs the minaret of the mosque and loudly calls the faithful to prayer, black men in the heart of Africa, yellow men in the jungles of Siam, brown men in the rice fields of India, sunburnt Fellaheen in the valley of the Nile, and white men in the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Balkans—all utter the words of the holy Quran and genuflect towards that spot in the desert that the world knows as Mecca—the birthplace of Islam and its Prophet, the Holy City of Islam and the spiritual capital of the Muslim world. In every town or city are beautiful mosques with graceful minarets pointing high above the marts of commerce, constant reminders of the simplicity, majesty and beauty of religion. Islam in all its aspects—religious, social, economic, cultural and political—has showed, through the ages, a remarkable adaptability in each successive age to the spiritual environment of the period, and a strength to meet the needs of the modern age, successfully tackling its problems and offering a practical solution. Individual freedom and a true sense of brotherhood and fellowship are twin principles upon which the life of humanity must be founded if it is to progress towards perfection. The idea of an ideal human fellowship consists in a recognition that all men, regardless of nationality, colour or creed, are members of the one great family of man. In this respect, Islam has rendered a great service to humanity, by achieving the moral unity of a large section of the human race. By creating the large Muslim confraternity, which covered Central and Western Asia and a large section of Africa, the Prophet Muhammad contributed to the moral unity of mankind more than any other historical figure. By

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

realising the fundamental unity of all life Islam has made true brotherhood possible. In this sense too, Islam is a race, an Ummat's commonwealth and a fatherland.

The Islamic system is practical and its policy which draws its inspiration from the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet, is efficient and stable. Human ethics and man-made laws have never provided any satisfactory substitute for God, as that Authority to which the conscience should bow, irrespective of the consequences to our own material comfort.

Trust in God and do the right, is a rule of life which cannot be surpassed : and this is enjoined by the Quran and its laws. In so far as the Muslim is bound to obey the Laws ("*Hudud*") of God, as laid down in the Quran which regulates every conceivable action of man, there is no room in Muslim society for pretence or hypocrisy. The Muslim finds, on observation, that the most dangerous aspect of the present civilisation of Christendom, psychologically fluoroscoped, is this pretence and hypocrisy. Thus, he sees men pretend to believe in God, and sacrifice their lives to Mammon ; they honour Christ, and worship the heads of their States ; they love liberty, and persecute the champions of freedom ; they bow down to virtue as holy, and stain the earth with prostitution and venereal diseases ; they defend marriage as

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the ultimate honourable basis of civilisation, and practise on the sly polymorphous perversions and free-love; they praise truth, and allow the cheats to occupy the seats of the mighty; they speak of the mind as evolution's most wonderful achievement, and do everything in human power to obscure the illuminations of consciousness; they proclaim the message of love, and persecute Israel; they preach brotherhood from the house-tops, and shoot, imprison or exile those who will not join their debauch in celebration of pernicious, greedy nationalism and war. This is how the Oriental looks upon things in the West.

Islam is a religion that inculcates absolute prohibition of intoxicants, and this is a force in the morals of Islam. Muslims have always stood as uncompromising prohibitionists, and as Edouard Montet observes, "it commands respect of Islam among the Christian societies where the struggle against alcoholism is such an absolute necessity. It is to be hoped that this prohibition will persist, in the interests of Islam." The influence of Western civilisation has been detrimental to the East in this respect, for the European occupation of Muslim lands brought along with it this evil; liquor traffic was impossible to control, because of privileges of extra-territoriality that were enjoyed by the foreigners who conducted this business. To cite an instance: *The Times* of November 24, 1932,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

published a note regarding the "Sale of Liquor in Palestine." There was information that licences for the sale of alcoholic liquor in Palestine had increased twelvefold since the War, and it was submitted that this change of policy was due to the decline of Moslem rule and the growth of British influence. The Bishop of London said that if it were true that the taking over of the British mandate in Palestine had led to an increase in drink among the population it was a shocking thing!

In view of the high standards of morality and purity stressed by Islam, and the raised status of woman and respect for marriage which is sanctioned by religion, the family unit has been established on a healthy, solid and stable basis. Islam eliminated the degrading and anti-social practice of prostitution and took extreme measures to guard against promiscuity. Usury is absolutely forbidden and selfish and anti-social accumulations of huge private fortunes are condemned. Emphasis has been placed upon generosity and sharing, in Islam, and the regular giving of charity (Zakat) is one of the five important pillars of Islam.

To the Muslim this wide world presents a vast field for cooperation in the struggle of life. His religion lays stress on the ennobling ideal of service and leads him to seek the welfare of humanity, in the cooperative rather than in the competitive spirit. "No man is a true believer unless he desires

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

for his brother (in faith) that which he desires for himself" is a saying of the Prophet. Great credit is his who donates generously to philanthropic enterprises or who gives freedom to a slave. The *Wakf* or *Awkaf*, in Islam, are philanthropic endowments built up through the centuries as a result of innumerable individual gifts and bequests. There is no class struggle in the Islamic social order, owing to absence of caste and colour distinctions. Toleration is an urgent need in this age and Islam can boast of a measure of toleration which is not found in other religions. Woman, in Islam, has equal rights with man. She keeps her own individuality. She does not lose her name and adopt that of her husband. A Muslim king or prince can marry the poorest woman or *vice versa*. Islam maintains a broad-minded spirit and tolerance towards the peoples of all religions. Even marriage with people of the other revealed religions is allowed, complete freedom being given to the wife to practice, without restraint, the rites of her own religion. "No compulsion in religion" is the principle of the Quran. "Invite (all) to the Way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious",* are the principles of religious teaching as laid down in the Quran. Certainly Islam has something to share with humanity in its ideal of generous, individual sharing

* Quran, S. XVI, 125.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

for social welfare. We are living in an era where the extremes of individualism and communism are striving for mastery. But Islam seeks to harmonise both individualism and socialism. Unlike socialism, its system is based on the products of a highly organised Reason, sanctioned by the authority of a highly developed Religion. It is based on both the intellectual and religious experience of humanity. Communism, like Capitalism, grounds itself on materialism. The Islamic system consists in a sense of private ownership tempered by individual responsibility for community welfare; thus it stands midway, harmonising both principles. The Islamic order does not look towards Wall Street and the Kremlin; it takes its inspiration from the "*Kitab*" and "*Hikmah*," i.e., the Quran and Wisdom.*

No conflicts are as devastating as racial conflicts, no hate as degrading as racial hatred, and Islam has suppressed them. The Quran lays down the doctrine of the unity of mankind. "The Faithful are brethren; therefore make peace between your brethren, and fear God. Haply ye may obtain mercy. O believers! let not men laugh men to scorn who haply may be better than themselves. O Mankind! We have created you male and female and have made you nations and tribes that ye might know one another. The noblest of you in the sight of God is the most righteous; verily God is knowing,

* Quran, S. II, 129.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

cognisant." (Quran, S. XLIX, 10-13.)

Islam, as a universal religion, has the true international spirit. All other federations have limits. They are the federations of one or more classes or races, but not of mankind. They represent capital or labour, or the proletariat or the educated. The only common bond that links all humanity and transcends all boundaries of class or creed is based on the absolute unity of God, and the brotherhood of man, and is expressed in Islam and its world order. Making of unity the essence of its teachings and policy, and taking religion as the common bond of its vast commonwealth, Islam laid the solid foundations of a spiritual league of nations, already fourteen centuries ago. The present League of Nations has been more than once exploited in the national and imperialist interest of particular nations or group of nations. It has been constituted mainly by the western Powers which deliberately profess a policy of materialism, on a political basis, having no potent spiritual factor, with the result that only mechanical pledges and sanctions are sought in the League for the maintenance of peace, but they are not backed by a spiritual force. Therein lies the difference between the two leagues. The "Western League" thus lacks a unifying spiritual bond. In Islam, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca sets a supreme example of unity and true internationalism. In Geneva there are Great Powers and Small Powers,

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

in Mecca there is one community; in Geneva there are representatives of governments, in Mecca there are representatives of nations; in Geneva there are distinctions and discriminations, in Mecca there is equality; in Geneva there is lip service to the Covenant or Pact, in Mecca there is pious allegiance to the word of the Quran; in Geneva there is a spirit of conflicting interests, jealousy, and selfish competition for gain, in Mecca there is a spirit of Islamic brotherhood and boundless devotion to God. The western leaders and statesmen may with advantage study Muhammad; Geneva should learn a valuable and practical lesson from Mecca; and the League Reformers may do well to consult the Quran.

Whereas the League could not for a long time settle a small war in South America, waged between two Members of the League, the war which broke out in Arabia in 1933 between King Ibn Sa'ud and the Imam of Yemen—who are not yet Members of the League—was speedily settled by a treaty, upon the mediation of a deputation of Muslim leaders. This Treaty of Al-Taif, which provided for the peaceful settlement of future disputes, did not escape the attention of the London *Times*, which commented on it in the following words (July 4, 1934): "Religious differences have not prevented victor and vanquished from signing a Treaty of Moslem friendship and Arab brotherhood

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

which is designed, in the solemn phrases of its preamble, 'to promote the unity of the Moslem Arab nation, to raise its prestige, and enhance its dignity and independence.' That these words have more than a formal importance is conclusively shown by the Articles of the Treaty . . . The significant and simultaneous publication of the Treaty in Mecca, Cairo, Damascus, and Sanâa deserves the attention of the more extreme Zionists who cannot or will not realise that Palestine is still an Arab country surrounded by Arab lands and *its spirit might be profitably compared by Christian statesmen with that of some recent European treaties of peace.*"* This Treaty has been elaborated in the spirit of the Quran, which enjoins the principle of arbitration. "And if two parties of the believers quarrel, make peace between them; but if one acts wrongfully towards the other, fight that which acts wrongfully until it returns to God's command; then if it returns, make peace between them with Justice and act equitably; surely God loves those who act equitably." (Quran, S. XLIX.)

Again, the Quran calls other religions to meet Islam on the basis of the Unity of the One True God: "Oh People of the Book! come to common terms as between us and you: that we worship none but God; that we associate no equals with Him; that we erect not, from among ourselves,

* Italics are mine.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Lords and Patrons other than God." (Quran, S. III, 64.)

From the fundamental principles of Islam—which are really intended to provide a necessary discipline and sufficient force for the establishment of the above-mentioned "*Dar-es-Salam*"—(Abode of Peace)—is also evolved a political system for the Islamic State. It has been wrongly comprehended in the West that the Islamic State, as instituted by the Sacred Law, the *Shar'iat*, is a purely theocratic state. Of course this policy assumes that we are living in a theocentric universe. But inasmuch as Islam is not only a theology, the Islamic State is theocentric in the sense that its basic philosophy starts with God, and its Constitution is God's Law as revealed in the Quran, which, as we have already shown, not only builds the structure of theology, but also the social, political, civil, ethical, and cultural structure as well. In other words, the temporal and spiritual structure. As a matter of fact, Islam, in the political field as in the social field, blends and synthesises in efficient harmony the opposing forces. In the Islamic State, therefore, we find theocentricity, democracy, leadership, "*Führertum*", socialism and patriotism (as opposed to exclusive nationalism) all built up into a homogeneous whole. Thus, the Islamic political system is free from the drawbacks of the various political doctrines which are striving for mastery in

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the West today and immune to the excesses of their respective ideologies, which have become creeds for which war is waged between sections of the same people. These creeds in Europe have transformed religion into forms of state-worship with an exclusive, jealous, nationalism. The Communist shrine has no God ; the Nazi shrine has no Jews, the Fascist shrine makes of the head of the government a demi-god who must be regarded as always right and sinless ; and there are the shrines of other political and social doctrines. But none of these affords what suffering humanity really needs ; equality, justice for all, civic freedom, toleration and good fellowship. Is the Islamic system, then, not worthy of serious study for what it offers ? Are not the words of Bernard Shaw worth pondering over : " If Muhammad were to assume the dictatorship (I would say : leadership) of the modern world, he would succeed in solving its problems in a way that would bring it the much needed peace and happiness." ?

Islam today is witnessing a great turning-point in its history. The West is surely interested in the vital drama being played in the world of Islam. A reborn Islam is coming into existence in Asia and Africa. A profound transformation is stirring into action throughout the Islamic world, but is most powerful in the Near and Middle East, where events of the greatest moment are taking place with terrific rapidity, and with decisive importance. Indeed, the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

present decade may be regarded as a period that will decide the destinies of this part of the world. We have discussed in a preceding chapter the important changes taking place in the awakened Islam. Even if many Islamic peoples have adopted Western ways, they have remained and will remain essentially Islamic; they have not turned to the West for affiliation. They are increasingly alert to the danger of being dazzled by the material achievements of European civilisation. No one, of course, would question the importance to Islam of European scientific discoveries. The development of science has been one of the greatest contributions which Europe has made to the world, but the form of its application and the use which Islam should make of it must be determined in relation to the ideal of social development that Islam sets before itself and one that is in harmony with its own line of evolution. The Islamic peoples are bound to use the best of their inheritance of social philosophy and culture and their own ethical criteria to judge the value of new importations of technique and modes of life from the West. Self-conscious as they are, the Muslim peoples wish to be true to the tenets of Islam and assess the significance of all that is introduced from Europe in the light of its own ethical and cultural conceptions. They will thus benefit by Europe's mistakes as well as by her achievements. Islamic countries, whose political value some twenty

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

years ago was much lessened by the fact that none of them was really independent, count today seven independent States among them. Islam will not now stop until it has attained complete mastery in its own house, has compelled world-wide respect for its culture, and recognition of equality of its rights. The Arab *renaissance* is becoming day by day a fact, and with it is largely associated the Islamic revival.

Let it be emphasised that Egypt takes a central rôle in the present evolution of Islam in the Arab East. Its geographical situation at the point of union of the Muslim chains in Asia and Africa accounts for its moral and political influence in the Muslim world. In the cultural as well as the social field it is also at the head of the movement in the Arab East.

Islam is consolidating its political as well as its spiritual forces. Hand in hand with the movement for political emancipation to achieve political, economic and social independence, goes another spiritual movement of religious regeneration originating in and spreading from the Sa'udi Arabia, from the birthplace of Islam, where King Ibn Sa'ud has succeeded in setting up the Islamic State according to the Quran and the precepts of the Prophet.

On the other hand, there is the laicisation and secularisation movement, initiated by Kamalist Turkey, which is developing into a sort of mystic under the name of Kamalism, and which has

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

influenced to some extent a similar movement in Iran and, to a lesser extent, Iraq. In Egypt we see best the conflict of the two tendencies—secularisation and religious puritanism. But the pendulum is markedly swinging to the side of the latter, which implies a revival of religion as the basis of the future evolution of the East.

Again, the events of the last few years point clearly to the progress of unity movement in the Islamic world. The ideal of Pan-Arab union is making headway towards realisation, the intense nationalistic movement (which must be regarded as a transitory defensive reaction against Western domination and aggression) being associated with a sense of solidarity. The Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, recently concluded between Iraq and Sa'udi Arabia and the Yemen, may later on include Egypt, while Syria would enter into the alliance when she will be finally free from French political control. Inter-Islamic alliance is being effected, as evidenced by the Four-Power (Asiatic) Pact between Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Iraq, which has been signed on July 9, 1937 at Teheran by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of these four countries. The Pact is called the "Pact of Saadabad", after the name of the palace where the negotiations have been conducted at Teheran. Sincere efforts in deeds as well as in words have been made to settle the centuries-old differences between the Sunnite and Shi'ite communities.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

With the rapid improvement in means of communication the pilgrimage to Mecca, which is the practical bond of Islam is again flourishing and intensified, especially since the recent settlement of the *Mahmal* and other disputes between Egypt and Sa'udi Arabia. Last but not least is the holding of Islamic congresses, general and regional, periodically, e.g., the universal Islamic Congress held at Jerusalem in 1931, the Muslim European Conference, Geneva, 1935, the proposed Sunni-Shi'ite Conference and other proposed conferences in Jiddah, etc. Nationalism and religious revival are going hand in hand towards the goal of unity. The process of coalescing the independent Islamic countries is at present going on. These countries are banding themselves together in the defence of their territories and in defence of peace, and they are desirous of cooperating for their mutual benefit.

Within a decade from now the world may see an Islam rising, more united, more independent, abounding with youthful vigour and entering upon a new phase of its expansion. But unlike its territorial expansion of the seventh and eighth centuries, when it first conquered the world, the new expansion is a spiritual one.

Already, as we have remarked, Islam, as a religion, is making progress in parts of western Europe, especially in England, and nuclei of Muslim units are found in Finland, Poland and other parts

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

of northern Europe. The same may be said of America, while Islam is spreading with a remarkable and steady vigour in Africa. In India the efforts to win over the Untouchables to Islam have been enhanced through the Azhar mission which recently visited India for the purpose. Apart from that, the seeds of Islam have been sown in Japan and its evolution there is being eagerly watched. Islam may have no past and no present in the land of the Rising Sun, but it is certain to have a future. Considering the many factors involved in this expansion it may, indeed, not be an overindulgence in speculation to think that in a not too distant future—it may be a decade or two—Islamic forces may receive additional strength at the other end of Asia, so that the scene may be shifted from the shores of the Mediterranean to the shores of the Pacific.

The obvious fact, then, is that Islam at present is a spiritual and social force of the greatest importance, although it still lacks material and technical efficiency. With the progress of its emancipation towards complete independence, and with the expansion of industrialisation in the Near and Middle East, Islam will be able to consolidate its political forces as well. The heart of the Islamic world occupies geographically and historically an intermediate position in the centre of the Old World between East and West. With the progress of the unifying movements, especially the Pan-Arab

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

movement, a Near-Eastern Arab Federation may thus arise to constitute, in the place of separate units, a block of the significance of a great Power (including Sa'udi Arabia, Iraq, Yēmen, Syria, and, possibly Egypt and Palestine) numbering some 35 or 40 millions. In connection with the numerical and demographic factor, it may be recalled that in less than one decade the Muslim population of India will amount to one hundred million in a single compact block which, under the new political status of India, will become a power to be reckoned with. And in the Dutch Indies and the Malay territories the Muslims again form an important mass of 60 to 65 millions, who are also aspiring to freedom and independence. In China the Muslims are estimated at between 40 and 50 million and their importance is not to be overlooked in the case of an anti-Bolshevik rise. Nor is the vital importance of North Africa to be forgotten. In French North Africa there are some 17 million Muslims struggling for liberty and emancipation from foreign tutelage.

From what has been said it will be seen that Islam holds the balance of power between the forces in Europe and Asia, between the white West and the coloured East. With its new awakening—spiritual and political—Islam may become the decisive factor in world politics. Islam as a force can be mobilised for peace as for war. This issue, in a conflict, may depend on the Islamic outlook

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

in this matter, and with whom eventually the Muslim peoples or some of them will side. To cite an example : Bolshevism is not only incompatible *with, but is also a sworn foe of Islam*. In the case of an anti-Bolshevik campaign, for example, in which the forces of Islam are called upon, they may become the factor which would determine the issue. Islam may be expected to rally to the side with which it has more affinities.

But it must not be deduced from the above considerations that Islam intends to constitute a menace to the West nor to any other section of the world. It has been sufficiently shown in the previous pages that the remarkable characteristic of Islam is that of harmonising, and conciliating opposing forces. Thus, it is pre-eminently a peace-maker.

But Islam has some definite grievances against the West. For thirteen centuries the West has been hearing the most prejudiced, the most biased history against the religion of Islam and the Muslims. Islam has therefore been misunderstood and misrepresented. Hatred, dating from the time of the Crusades, has been fanned among the Europeans against Islam and history as taught to European children was such as to make them grow up with this feeling of animosity and prejudice. The Church, the missionaries, imperialists and profiteers have all contributed to widen the gap and increase the

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

alienation. Publicists calumniated, vilified, abused and misrepresented Islam and the Muslims in films, in the press, over the wireless—in spoken and in written word.

In its relationship with Islamic peoples, western diplomacy introduced various terms; protectorate, mandate, "peaceful penetration", tutelage and more recently, "Treaties of Alliance" with special military clauses, which stand, not for fair dealing and full economic and civil rights to all inhabitants, tending to their most rapid achievement of self-government but for the lust of empire, exploitation and the greed of commercial gain. *

European diplomacy with its imperial designs has maintained such an attitude as to engender the idea that the Christian nations of Europe were banded together, in the name of western or Christian solidarity, for the destruction of Islam. Europe's nay, humanity's debt to Islam, was belittled, or ignored. False notions were propagated, such as to represent a Muslim as a barbarous warrior with a sword in one hand and the green flag of the Prophet in the other, bent on killing and massacring the infidel, and that a crusade should

* As Sir Valentine Chirol observed: "No looser terms than the word 'Protectorate' has ever been invented by Western diplomacy to cloak the assumption by European Powers of political ascendancy over an eastern country, and in most cases, as, for instance, when we proclaimed the British Protectorate in Egypt, little disposition is shown to define its meaning." ("Khalifate and Protectorate in Morocco" in *The Near East*, March 27, 1924).

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

be continually waged against him, if not in arms, then in spirit.

As a matter of fact there is no such thing in Islamic terminology as crescentade; the crescent itself is not a symbol necessary to Islam and the allegation of a green flag or standard of the Prophet is an absurd myth. While Muslims are bound by their religion to honour Christ, Europeans abused Muhammad. And despite the incontestable fact that Muslims are inconvertible, armies of Christian missionaries set out with the Cross in their hands to implant it in the "nerve centres" of Islam, using sometimes in their zealous evangelising efforts methods which put to shame any civilised society. Add to this the old well-known western arrogance and superiority complex, which assumed that western civilisation was in every way superior to every other culture, and that western ways of life and standards should be forced upon the whole of the world. Unfortunately, for one critic of Islam of the type of Carlyle and Goethe, Christendom has produced a hundred critics like Sale and Louis Bertrand, determined beforehand to find fault with it and to discredit it. We cannot dwell too much on these points.

However, it cannot be denied that Islam remained for centuries in almost complete isolation; then the West compelled it to open its doors and so to take its place in the modern world.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

The question now arises ; can reconciliation take place between Islam and the West ? Happily enough, an answer in the affirmative can be made. First of all, genuine Christianity is not remote from Islam ; it is closely allied to it. The fact alone of the revelation of the One God should be a sufficient basis for the Christian and Muslim religions to understand each other. All the three monotheistic religions had their origin in the Near East.

Westerners and Muslims can approach each other in the domains of culture : art, science, literature, etc. To every western the cultured Muslim has qualities that exercise a powerful attraction : for instance, his absolute faith in God and devout allegiance to the Prophet, his austere simplicity of life, solemnity of prayer, modesty of speech, the dignity of the Muslim under all the blows of fate and misfortune ; in his submission to the Will of God he possesses a composure equal, if not superseding, to that of any human being on earth. Again, in mysticism rival faiths could draw closely together, and Islamic mystics showed as much toleration, depth and loftiness of thought as could anywhere be found. Besides the cultural and moral contributions of Islam, it must not be forgotten that Muslims discovered to the world the true status of trade. Trade in the West had, until recently, at any rate, been condemned ; but

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

the Prophet himself had engaged in trade.

Fortunately, the West is gradually getting to *know Islam better and is beginning to cast off the age-old prejudices against it*. But it should learn more. A new and true version of Islamic history should be effected in the schools in the West. History of Islamic civilisation deserves to be more known in Europe, and Islam should be the object of more unbiased and unprejudiced study in western institutes; we need more scholars of the type of H. A. R. Gibb, A. J. Toynbee, E. Denison Ross, Kampffmeyer, Montet and Goldziher than of the type of S. M. Zwemer, Margoliouth, Lammens, Cash and Duncan. Collaboration of Muslim scholars with western scholars may be enlisted with advantage in Oriental institutes.

All offensive Christian missionary propaganda should be avoided. It is a regrettable fact that in the so-called international organisations for peace, social and intellectual cooperation, as well as in conferences held for such purposes, Islam is not represented. Watch the various "international" peace conferences, youth conferences, League of Nations Unions' conferences, cooperation conferences and so on, and you will discover either no representation at all, or in rare cases, very inadequate representation of Islamic peoples. And the same applies to their respective publications. Of course, it may be admitted that many of these

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

peoples are "inarticulates" owing to the still prevalent illiteracy among many of them: But here it is incumbent on such organisations to invite the participation and friendly collaboration of the *élite* and request their opinions and viewpoints. The League of Nations must realise the urgent need of the collaboration of the Islamic nations, not only at the League Assembly meetings, but in all the fields and activities of this international organisation. It must realise that it cannot be truly universal unless that important section of mankind as represented by Islam be given its due place in all deliberations and work of the League, for the unifying and stabilising power of Islam cannot be overestimated. Islam is through all its aspects a vital factor in securing and maintaining world peace. We have already sufficiently emphasised the genuine international spirit of Islam. It is able to promote the Spirit of a true international relationship in the new order of society. Islam is both a spiritual and temporal factor to be reckoned with in all dealings in world affairs.

The Islamic peoples are ready to meet the West on the grounds of mutual and absolute respect of religion, of equal rights and justice. They are ready for sympathetic comprehension and friendly interchange of culture. As the East has not disdained to adopt what it lacks from the material achievements of the West, so the West may, with

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

advantage, adopt what it lacks of the wisdom of the East, so that there may be a certain "Easternisation" of the West.

They are ready to welcome enlightened views and not prejudices; cultural agents and not missionaries; the elevating arts and sciences, and not the demoralising drink traffic, gambling casinos and indecent movie pictures and literature; friendly counsel, and not dictated terms; experts and not colons; good-will and fellowship and not the vanity of race domination; collaboration and not assimilation; freedom to develop national culture and not the imposition of foreign culture and the arrogant assumption of social superiority.

Islam wants complete equality with the Western nations. Freedom of nationalities, respect for treaties and pledges, application of justice and granting of rights to independence, are as important for the Islamic world as for the West. The Muslim peoples are resolved to be free and to develop their own culture and revivify their own religion. What attitude shall the West take with regard to Islam? Only sympathy, understanding, and good-will will bring the desired fruitful cooperation, and peaceful development of a unified civilisation. Islam stretches its hands to the West for friendly collaboration. The initiative rests mainly with Great Britain, France, America, and Italy. Great Britain should realise the immense importance of this rapprochement

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

with the world of Islam, for she has under her control well over 100 million Muslims; she would derive tremendous advantages from the operation. France, whose traditional policy of cultural collaboration in the Levant is well-known and whose Empire contains some 35 or 40 million Muslims cannot but work positively for the rapprochement; while the United States, apart from its great educational influence in the East, has been at the head of the movement for the establishment of universal peace. Italy can participate in this supreme task of rapprochement. Her race has a remarkable adaptability and affinity towards other races of the southern and eastern Mediterranean basin. This, coupled with her recent friendly policy towards Islam, shows that Italy is geographically and spiritually well adapted to help in bridging much of the gap which separates East and West. Indeed all Great Powers which are vitally interested in the world of Islam will benefit by bringing about this needed reconciliation.

The services which Islam can render to the West and to humanity at large, are enormous. By its absolutely monotheistic faith, by its principle of brotherhood, internationalism and pure patriotism; and by its conception of placing the spiritual values above terrestrial matters. Islam offers a practical and simultaneous solution of the three major scourges from which the West is severely suffering:

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Bolshevism, greedy and pernicious ultranationalism, and materialism.

Islam offers to transfuse its spiritual culture into the veins of the "sick man of the West",—Europe. Indeed, Islam brings to humanity a message of unity, peace and progress.

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD

THERE have been many attempts to estimate the numbers of Muslims throughout the world. Accurate statistical data are, however, lacking for many regions of the Islamic world. There has been, therefore, a great discrepancy between different estimates. Where official information is lacking rough calculations are worked out and the figures for populations are approximations.

Among the widely-known and frequently-quoted statistics are those drawn up by Louis Massignon in his "*Annuaire du Monde Musulman*" (Third Edition, Paris, 1929). Many of the figures he gives are, however, inaccurate and very much below the true estimates as given by official reports in many of the principal countries of Islam.

We give below a statistical survey (in more or less round numbers) of the world of Islam based primarily on the most recent official statistics where such are available (consulting several works: *The Statesman's Year-Book*, "*Annuaire Statistique de la Société des Nations*," *Political Handbook of the World*, etc.). Where official information is unavailable, an approximate estimate is rendered as complete

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

as possible by data supplied by reliable sources.

The world distribution of Muslims shows that the majority are found in Asia. In Africa the followers of Islam outnumber by many times those of all other religions and constitute over half of the total population. In Europe Muslims are found mainly in the Balkan States and in South Russia, numbering in all several millions. In the two Americas and in Australia there are some hundred thousands of Muslims.

AFRICA

Egypt	....	....	15,000,000
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (Condominium)			5,000,000
Tripoli (Libya Italiana)	....	....	1,000,000
Tunis	....	....	2,335,000
Morocco (French Zone)	....	....	5,898,000
Algeria (French Colony, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior)....			6,247,000
Morocco (<i>Maghribul-Aqsa</i> or Farthest West):			
French Zone	....	....	5,000,000
Spanish Zone	....	....	700,000
Tangier (International Zone) about	....		60,000
Senegal—over 80 per cent. Muslims	....		1,400,000
French Sudan:			
Non-desert	....	....	1,500,000
Desert dwellers (wholly Muslim)	....	....	600,000

APPENDIX

Upper (Haute) Volta	....	....	600,000
French Guinea	....	....	2,000,000
Ivory Coast (estimated number)	....	....	1,000,000
Dahomy	....	....	600,000
Togoland (<i>The Peace Handbook</i>)	....	....	500,000
The Cameroons (French Mandate)	....	....	1,000,000
The colony of the Niger	....	....	1,200,000
Dakar and dependencies	....	....	80,000
Mauritania (French) — This colony consists of the districts of Trarza, Brakna, Gorgol, Assaba, Guidimaka, Adrar, Levrier Bay, Akjoujt and Tagant. Population mostly Moorish Muslims	....	....	400,000
The Great Sahara, Socoto, Barno, Adamoua, Ouadai (estimate)	....	....	20,000,000
Gambia (Colony and Protectorate)	....	....	300,000
Serra Leone (Colony and Protectorate areas)	....	....	2,000,000
The Gold Coast (The colony, Ashanti and northern territories)	....	....	200,000
Nigeria (Northern and Southern Provinces)	....	....	11,000,000
Portuguese Guinea, (estimate)	....	....	300,000
Liberia	....	....	1,000,000
Rio de Oro (population entirely Muslim)	....	....	70,000
Gabun (estimate)	....	....	200,000
Middle Congo: total population 660,564 (1934). Muslims about	....	....	400,000

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Ubangi-Shari	....	....	120,000
Chad Region : Muslim population estimated at about	....	....	1,100,000
British Cameroons (Mandated Territory)			500,000
Cape Verde Island (Portuguese)	....		60,000
Angola (Portuguese)	....		1,000
South-West Africa (Mandated Territory)	....	....	100,000
South Africa : Cape Province, Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State, Basutoland, Swaziland, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia	....		150,000
Portuguese East Africa—Mozambique	....		1,000,000
Bechuanaland (British)	....		50,000
Belgian Congo	....		200,000
Nyasaland (British)	....		500,000
Réunion Island (French)	....		5,000
Madagascar (French) estimated number of Muslims	....		800,000
Island of Mauritius (British)	....		100,000
Seychelles Islands (British)	....		5,000
Zanzibar (British Protectorate) and Pemba	....		400,000
Kenya Colony and Protectorate	....		2,000,000
Tanganyika Territory (lately German East Africa)	....		1,000,000
Uganda Protectorate (British)	....		1,000,000
British Somaliland (wholly Muslim)	....		350,000
French Somaliland (wholly Muslim)	....		230,000

APPENDIX

Italian Somaliland (wholly Muslim)	1,010,000
Eritrea (Italian Colony)	350,000
Abyssinia (Ethiopia) Italian : Figures uncertain. Fifty per cent. Muslim.	
Rough Estimate about	5,000,000

EUROPE

Albania, over 80 per cent. Muslims	800,000
Yugoslavia, about	1,750,000
Bulgaria	780,000
Rumania (1934)	260,000
Greece (1928)	180,000
Poland and Lithuania, about	12,000
Finnland, about	3,000
Hungary, about	3,000
France, about	200,000
Great Britain, about	30,000
Belgium (<i>"Annuaire du Monde Musul-</i> <i>man,"</i> 1929)	5,000
Holland, Germany, Austria	6,000
Italy, Spain	6,500
Cyprus	65,000
Rhodes	15,000

ASIA

Turkey	15,000,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,000,000

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Palestine. The estimated population in 1935 was 1,261,000 of whom the number of Muslims was				....	825,000
Transjordan				....	400,000
Iraq				....	3,000,000
Sa'udi Arabia (Hejaz, Najd, Dependencies), Oman, Yemen, Koweit,				....	12,000,000
Hadramout, approximately				....	120,000
Bahrain Island (estimate)				....	150,000
The Six Trucial States (Shargah, Ras al-Khaimah, Um al-Qawain, Ajman, Debai, Abu Dhali) about				....	51,000
Aden and Perim				....	30,000
Qatar, about				....	12,000
Socotra				....	15,000,000
Iran				....	10,000,000
Afghanistan				....	82,000,000
India				....	270,000
Borneo (British)				....	33,000
Brunei				....	120,000
Sarawak				....	600,000
Ceylon				....	820,000
Baluchistan				....
Straits Settlements (British Crown Colony), comprises the settlement of Singapore, Penang, Malacca and Labuan). Muslim population of colony and dependencies (estimate)					800,000

APPENDIX

The Unfederated Malay States (Johore, Kedak, Perlis, Kalantan, Trengganu).			
Muslim population estimated at	....		1,100,000
Siam, Muslims about	....		600,000
China (Muslims most numerous in Kansu, Sinkiang, Shansi, Chibli and Yunnan). Sinkiang consists of Chinese Turkestan, Kulja and Kashgaria, and comprises all Chinese dependencies lying between Mongolia on the north and Tibet on the south			
	....	....	50,000,000
Tibet (estimate)	....	....	10,000
Manchukuo	....	....	2,000,000
Inner and Outer Mongolia	....	....	3,000,000
Netherland (Dutch) Indies (Java, Sumatra, Flauw-Lingga, Lanka-Billiton, Borneo, Celebes, Moloccas and New Guinea, Timor and Bali Lombok). Total Muslim population			
	....	....	55,000,000
Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) Russia ; Muslims in Asian and European Russia have a total of about			
	....	....	30,000,000
French Indo-China. Muslims estimated at about			
	500,000
Japan	1,000

AMERICA

North America	100,000
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ISLAM IN THE WORLD

South America	400,000
Philippine Islands,		Australasia	and	
Oceania	....	....	....	2,000,000

In view of the fact that in many regions, especially in Africa, no statistics are available, and that in many cases the given statistics are incomplete, covering only a portion of the territory and that in other cases estimates are based upon old statistics, it may be safely assumed that there are about 400 million Muslims in the world.

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